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VALLANCEY, Charles

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COLLECTANEA

DE

REBUS HIBERNICIS.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

No. V. Of the Literature of the Iriſh Nation in Heatheniſh Times.

No. VI. An Eſſay on the Study of Iriſh Antiquities.

No. VII. Druidiſm revived.

No. VIII. An Eſſay on the Antiquity of the Iriſh Language.

No. IX. The Hiſtory and Antiquities of Iriſhtown and Kilkenny.

WITH COPPER PLATES.

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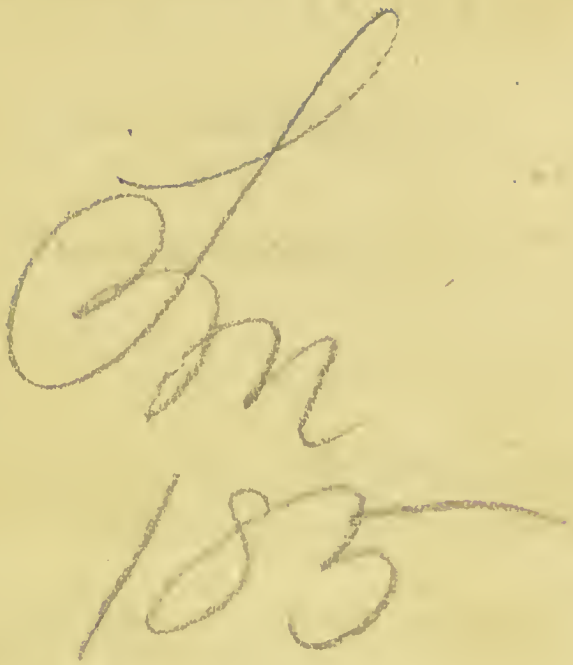
M,DCC,LXXXVI.



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☞ THE Editor returns his thanks to his correſpondent C. for his many favours; by diveſting his letters of the epiſtolary and complimentary parts, no ways material to the reader, and by purſuing the thread of the ſubjects, and filling up where there appeared a chaſm, he offers them to the Public in the form of a Number of the Collectanea, which he flatters himſelf will be well received.

O. B.'s favours on the Hiſtory of Literature in Ireland in Pagan Times, and on the various Druidical Oghams, with ſeveral other intereſting ſubjects, ſhall appear in a future number.

*** The Editor is happy in informing the Public, that a number of gentlemen of learning and abilities have applied themſelves to the Study and Illuſtration of the Antiquities of this Country, and that their labours will be publiſhed forthwith under the title of this Collectanea.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM BURTON,

TELLER OF THE EXCHEQUER,

AND

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY's MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL OF IRELAND.

SIR,

IT is no flattery, but an unconteſted truth, to aver, that you have been moſt eminently uſeful to this kingdom, in encouraging the fine arts and manufactures. The extenſive ſhare of literature and diſcerning judgment you enjoy, would not permit the curious monuments of Iriſh antiquity to paſs unnoticed; at your own private expence very able artiſts have been employed to make ſuch a Collection of Drawings of theſe Monuments as give infinite pleaſure to every lover of antiquity to behold. Permit me, Sir, to join the public voice, in hoping, that the

the ſame ſpirit which has led you to this expence and trouble, may induce you to a publication of this Collection of Drawings, which have juſtly entitled you to be recorded as the Reſtorer of Iriſh Antiquities; and I requeſt that you will be pleaſed to accept of this Dedication of the Firſt Number of the Second Volume of the COLLECTANEA DE REBUS HIBERNICIS from,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

moſt humble ſervant,

CHARLES VALLANCEY.

Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis.

NUMBER V.

Of the LITERATURE of the IRISH NATION in HEATHENISH TIMES.

TRANSLATION of a FRAGMENT of the BREHON LAWS; or rather, a GLOSSARY of the BREHON TERMS.

The GAVEL LAW of the ancient IRISH explained.

Of the LITERATURE of the IRISH after the Eſtabliſhment of CHRISTIANITY.

An ENQUIRY into the FIRST INHABITANTS of IRELAND.

The Whole intended as an ESSAY towards furniſhing ſome Light for future ENQUIRIES into the ORIGIN, LAWS, and MANNERS of the ANCIENT IRISH.

By LIEUT. COL. CHARLES VALLANCEY.

DUBLIN:

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M,DCC,LXXXI.

OF THE

LITERATURE

OF THE

IRISH NATION

IN

HEATHENISH TIMES.

AMONGST all the proofs that can be exhibited of the exiſtence of letters and learning in pagan times, no one can be ſo much depended on, as the producing of certain works, that were really written by pagan authors, and which exiſted before St. Patrick's arrival in this iſland: Such a proof would doubtleſs ſolve the queſtion propoſed, in a deciſive manner. The *dans* or poems given us by Keating to atteſt the hiſtories of remote times, far from aſſiſting us on the occaſion, rather have appeared to many as proofs againſt us, becauſe the words, the ſtyle, and the very poetic dreſs of theſe poems, ſhow them to be of modern date and invention. Moſt of that hiſtorian's poetic quotations regarding the *Belgian* and *Danian* colonies, the *lia fail*, &c. are taken from poems that by the *book of Lecan*, are attri-

buted to *Eocha o Floin*, who was a chriſtian poet. From the diſcovery of this truth, which neither Keating nor any of our literati did take proper care to explain, the enemies of our antiquities cried up victory, ſaying that theſe ancient facts had only modern writers for their firſt inventors; but let them proceed with leſs precipitation, and conſider the true nature of things. The Iriſh Chriſtians when they began to compoſe verſes, after the manner of the *deibhi* or *dan direch*, which of all others exiſting in either our, or any other language I am acquainted with, was the moſt compendious, and for this reaſon the moſt proper for writing hiſtory, laid themſelves out for recording the facts of remote antiquity, as well as chronology &c. in ſuch kind of verſes. And thus the Chriſtians had in an abridged manner laid before them the lives and memorable actions of the princes, the years of their reign, &c. and hence Keating or any other writer may very ſecurely cite one of theſe antient Chriſtian poets, for atteſting facts belonging to heatheniſh times, juſt as he might cite the ſame poet for atteſting facts belonging to the Aſſyrian, Median, Perſian, or Roman empires; the principal revolutions of all which ſtates have been often faithfully recorded by theſe Iriſh poets, and many are to be met with in the parchment manuſcripts ſtill exiſting. The truth is, it was much eaſier to cite a verſe of four lines, each line conſiſting only of eight ſyllables, wherein three or four facts may be recorded, than to have the trouble of citing an old paſſage in proſe, ſuch as it was before Chriſtianity, which on account of its obſcurity and uncouth

uncouth dreſs, muſt beome diſagreeable to the modern reader, who ſought for elegancy of ſtyle, plain language and pleaſure in his reading. And hence, as it would be highly contradictory to all good reaſon, for a man to conclude, that a fact or revolution, happening in any of the aforeſaid great empires, had for its only authority an Iriſh Chriſtian poet, becauſe ſuch a fact or revolution was really deſcribed by him, ſo in like manner it is repugnant to good ſenſe, that a Chriſtian poet ſhould be aſſigned as the only author for facts which happened in heatheniſh times, becauſe theſe facts are recorded in his verſes; the reaſon he records in his poetry the facts relating to thoſe empires of the world, is, becauſe he read the hiſtory of them, and underſtood the language wherein the facts were contained, and by a like reaſon doth he record in verſe, the facts regarding his own country, becauſe he is well acquainted with the hiſtory of it, and underſtands his native language to perfection.

In my humble opinion the verſes of ſuch poets deſerve the greateſt credit, ſince they lay before us the moſt abſurd relations and ridiculous tenets of our pagan anceſtors, as well as the moſt certain and well connected points of their doctrine and hiſtory. This could not proceed from a want of diſcernment and good ſenſe in them, ſince they ſhow by other writings, they were well acquainted with foreign hiſtory, poetry and oratory, and conſequently had as good a right as we have, to diſtinguiſh between palpable error and truth, or plauſibility; and ſince they relate theſe palpable errors and fabulous ſtory, it appears, their true motive

for

for ſo doing was to hand down theſe accounts, juſt as they found them in our pagan hiſtory, with ſincerity and candour. The Chriſtian religion derives one advantage from their fidelity, viz. that we can by that means take a retrograde view of pagan blindneſs and miſery.

Having thus offered my thoughts in vindication of theſe verſes, which I ſuppoſe to have been compoſed by Chriſtian poets, celebrated in their times, (for I know what little dependance ought to be had on the verſification of our modern bards) I ſhall now proceed to give ſome clear proofs of our having had the uſe of letters before Chriſtianity. The proof I ſpeak of is the exhibition of a fragment of a Code of Laws, which, I think, every judicious reader, who is verſed in Iriſh antiquities, will judge to have been the product of very remote times, much higher than the fifth or ſixth centuries.

This fragment contains twelve folios, and begins at folio ſixty-four, the ſixty-three preceding were miſſing: and here I muſt beg the reader to remark, the difference between the *letter* of the law and the *explication* of the ſaid law. I maintain the firſt is of pagan inſtitution, and that the ſecond is the work of one or many Chriſtian Juriſconſults, who interpreted this law, and applied it to particular caſes, according to the intention of the Chriſtian legiſlator.

This collection was partly made in the time of *Donal mac Aoda mac Anmirech*, who was a Chriſtian prince, by *Ceandfaela mac Aillil*, called I ſuppoſe *Ceandfaela na fogluma*; and partly by *Aicill* who lived after *Ceandfaela's* time, (on the environs of *Tara*) and after the time of king *Cormac*, for he was

was cotemporary with *Carbre Liffeachair* ſon of *Cormac*. Nevertheleſs the work is attributed to *Cormac*, as it was begun by him and ended in the reign of his ſon *Carbre*; ſo that the Iriſh lawyers who compiled and delivered this code of laws, were *Aicill* who lived in the reigns of *Cormac* and of his ſon *Carbre*, and *Ceandfaela* ſon of *Aillil*, who flouriſhed in the reign of *Donal* ſon of *Hugh mac Ainmirech*. No doubt but that theſe laws were collected by the order of thoſe Iriſh princes, juſt as we know the Roman emperor *Juſtinian* I. who had the Roman laws collected, by the care and labour of ten able Juriſconſults, directed in chief by the celebrated *Trebonianus*, calling this collection the *Juſtinian Code*; he alſo cauſed the ſcattered deciſions of his judges and magiſtrates, reduced to the number of fifty, to be called *digeſta* or *pandectæ*, to all which he added his four books of inſtitutes, which are an abridgment of the text of all the Roman laws; and laſtly he publiſhed his own laws which he called *novellæ*; this compilation has procured for that emperor an immortal name.

Our Iriſh Chriſtian legiſlators took the ſame method with the Chriſtian Juriſconſult Trebonianus and his illuſtrious aſſiſtants called *anteceſſores* or profeſſors and interpreters, for in the preface to the *Pandectæ*, they are ſtiled των νομων διδασκαλοις, I mean *Theophilus* and *Dorotheus*, who explained not only the laws of the Chriſtian emperors from the year 527, when *Juſtinian* ſucceeded his uncle *Juſtin* in the empire, up to the reign of *Conſtantine* the Great, but alſo to the times of *Julius* and *Auguſtus Cæſar*. They even introduce the laws of the ſenate and the *Plebiſcita*

Plebiſcita or deciſions of the popular tribunes, and ſometimes the laws of the twelve tables; all which were of pagan inſtitution, though directed and compiled by a Chriſtian emperor and Chriſtian Juriſconſults.

Theſe Iriſh princes, ſeeing the laws of the Iriſh nation diſperſed in many pieces, thought it expedient, both for the public order and economy of the ſtate, and for the ſafety and comfort of each individual, to unite them all together in one code.

The FRAGMENT begins by the invocation of the name of God thus, *in ainm DE ſo*; juſt like the Juſtinian code, which begins *in nomine D. noſtri Jeſu Chriſti*; and the firſt folio contains an hiſtorical prelude to the law, as I have juſt now obſerved, viz.

Locc don liubarſa Daire lubran, agus aimſer, do aimſer Domnall mac Aeda mac Ainmirech, acus pearſa do, Ceandfaela mac Aillila.

The place where this book was written was Derry, in the times of Donal, ſon of Aod, ſon of Ainmirec, by the perſon called Ceandfaela ſon of Aillila.

This Donal, ſon of Aod, ſucceeded his brother Conalen who died in 605; he was cotemporary with Fingin mac Aod, king of Munſter, who in 604 ſucceeded Amalga mac Eanna; the ſaid Donal according to our annals ſlew Seachnaſſach, ſon of Garvan king of Tirowen, who oppoſed him in 607.

Carbre Liffeachar ſucceeded his father Cormac in 279, his father dying of the bone of a ſalmon which ſtuck in his throat; in 260, he fought the battles of Bear Lochlein, Lunerick and Greine, and

alſo

alſo of Ardfeart; he is ſaid alſo to have killed in ſingle combat, in this year, twelve Lagenian princes, or Galamh Aenfir, and was baniſhed by the Ultonians the year following, and was not able to recover the royal ſeat of Eman for four years, when at length he was victor, and baniſhed the Ultonians into the iſle of Man.

Then follows this ancient verſe in praiſe of Donal:

Iſe in f:n ar nad buſid ar ar Congal in a gae;	This is the man who proved victorious, defeating Congal in battle:
Re Domhnal in a firinde uair buaid madm ar in:	Who truly fell by the ſword of Donal:
An firen rias anfiren. Iſe in f:n ar nad buaid.	For he conquered him in a pitched battle, and the faithful prince ſlew the unfaithful.
Suibne geilt do dul re geltacht. i. ar facaib.	He was the man who yet was victor over Suibne the geilt who became crazy.
Do laidib & do ſgelaib agairfiti cach o ſin ille.	He left after him many poems and ſtories for the uſe and entertainment of poſterity.

It is then related of him that he was educated at Tuam Dercain, at the meeting of three roads, centrical to the houſes of three ſuad or virtuoſi, viz. a genealogiſt, a poet, and a ſai leigind; his capacity and memory are praiſed, and concludes, that whatever he learned by day from his three teachers, he carefully wrote down at night in *cailc liubar*, a chalk book.

According

According to Tigernach, Cinfaela, ſtiled by him *ſapiens*, died in the year 679.

Then follows concerning Cormac and Carbre Liffeachair his ſon, and the hiſtory of Cormac's being blinded is mentioned thus:

Ceallach ſon of Cormac raviſhed a Lagenian lady of quality, daughter to Solar ſon of Artcorb, in her father's houſe at Rath Aedha in Leinſter; ſome time after Aongus Gaibuaibnech paſſing through Connaught, went into the houſe of a woman of the free ſtate of Luigne, and forcibly drank milk there *ro cait bainde in ar eigin*; upon which ſhe told him, he had better revenge himſelf on Ceallach for violating his brother Solar's honour, than infringe on the liberty of that ſtate; which reproach made ſo deep an impreſſion on the mind of Aongus, that he immediately went home, put on his armour, and after the ſetting of the ſun, met Cormac and his ſon Ceallach, when at one blow he put Ceallach to death, and with his armed elbow ſtruck Cormac blind; but the famous Aicil performed a cure for his eye.

It is then related that Cormac's part of this book is *ara feſer* & *na blai*, but that Cinfaela's part is the reſt of the book.

Then the perſon of Cinfaela is commended in verſe thus

ba perſa aireda tra Cinfaela mac Ailila	A moſt illuſtrious perſonage indeed was Cinfaela ſon of Aillil
iar naſg olltaid iſim cath he do rigne duil roſgadach.	Who after ſubduing the Ultonians in battle, compoſed folios of chiming poetry.

It

It is then mentioned that the Latin *ſuum licet* is in Iriſh called *deimin dilmain*; that its indirect ſignification is called by him *buna airs*; that *coitchen* means common, *diles* proper, and *ruidles* entire, ſafe and found; that there are eight common terms of the laws called *ocht nernaille coitchena*, viz.

INETG *or* FOGARCAILE,
LANFRAC *or* COMRAILE,
LEATHFRAC *or* IMANFOT,
AITHGIN *or* IN IMDEITHBIR,
TORBA,
SLAN,
DEITHBIR TORBA,
FODLAIDETU.

The reſt of this folio is effaced.

The next page begins a kind of exordium to the work thus, *aſlach on athair for Ebha & toltnugad do Ebha fria*, i. e. the ſerpent preſented the forbidden fruit to Eve, and Eve conſented to receive it. *Imarbas*, is the prohibition of a legiſlator. *Com fugud do Adam fria ſlatarta um coimde*, i. e. Eve delivered it to Adam in diſobedience to the Trinity; and hence it is plain, ſays the author, that when a man knows a crime in virtue of the law eſtabliſhed, though he be ignorant of the penalty enjoined by it, he may be puniſhed according to the full meaſure; *is as ſin is follos o bias ſis in cinaid ac duine gen coroib ſis na herce con adhainſis lanfrach*, and hence by a greater right, when the crime or fault is known and the penalty too, there is no matter for deception, *ni damna meallaid.*

ETGE RIAN ETGEN, NO CIN RIA CINAID, a crime for a crime; means if a man commits a crime

crime he is to ſuffer for it, and then the law ceaſes, but Lucifer for example called *ſolus tairgtech*, can never have the benefit of this law, becauſe his puniſhment will have no end *gan ſoſa cain*; and this may be called *iar netgen ſin*, that is, after the puniſhment the crime remains imputable; the ſame may be ſaid of Eve for having eat of the forbidden fruit, *tomailt torad in craind ungairte*.

EISLIR FODLA EITGID. Cia ler no cia lin dernalaib fodeilitear aneitgen com forleatan in cintaid; i. e. how many fold and how extenſive is the crime and how many ways it can be diſtinguiſhed.

NIHANDSUSON, means that whatever is done by advice has the ſame force with the act itſelf.

ACEATHAIR, NO DOIRISCE AN AIREAM CEATARDA DONA HUILIB AIRMHE. The number four excels all other numbers on account of the elements, of the four cardinal points, and for many other reaſons, ſo that the proof of four perſons is beyond diſpute; the interpretation is in Latin thus, quaternus præcellit omnibus numeris in *ella*, i. e. the univerſe (*a*).

COMRAITE

(*a*) Here we may take notice, that the Iriſh gloſſary adopts the allegorical method of reaſoning, whereof the Platonic philoſophers were extremely fond. *Cornutus* the *Stoic* has left us a treatiſe on allegorical interpretations, from which, and from his ſtudy of Platonic philoſophy, he is thought to have borrowed his method of allegorizing ſeveral paſſages of holy writ. See Porphyrius apud Euſebium Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 6. ch. 19. Many of the primitive fathers fell into the ſame method; S. Irenæus reaſons much after the ſame manner of our Iriſhman on the number of four evangeliſts; he ſays, "there muſt be four goſpels, and no more, from the four winds and four corners of the earth." As that kind of reaſoning was acceptable to the learned Gentiles,

COMRAITE, means the corporal preſence of a perſon, which is to be known by the five ſenſes *(ceadfad cuirp no 5 ſianſib)* that agree and join together in the perpetration of a crime; it may regard the witneſs whoſe bare recital that he heard the fact will not ſuffice. The book of *Sùſannah* advertizes us of this neceſſary precaution. The ſecrecy of the fact ſhould alſo be attended to *(cleithe an cinaid)* and which of the two contending parties did firſt make his declaration *(coir ciamad don lanbud mo ro aiſned artus.)*

ACASANFOT, *or* AMBI UAIT, *or* AINEOLACH UAIT, means that an ignorant man, who is like a beaſt, ſhould not be permitted to atteſt any thing, for thus ſayeth Fearmuvan mac Echlan

bid cach ca faitchus ifoit is brecht ciamtiagait oig	All people aſk what is the ſignification of *foit*; it is a riddle commonly propoſed to youth.
cona de ata fot faiteach agus anfhot anfaitech.	I ſay that *fot* ſignifies ſenſible and *anfhot*, fooliſh, nonſenſical.

TORBA or TOIRBEO, means the ſentence of a judge which exempts the criminal from further apprehenſions, after he has paid the fine. Some are of opinion it means *(tair)* confuſion or ſhame, or elſe terror to him who does not ſatisfy the damages he

tiles, for whoſe inſtruction they wrote, it is no wonder if our Chriſtian doctors frequently adopted it. *S. Auſtin* to prove that Chriſt was to have twelve apoſtles, uſes a very ſimilar argument, for ſays he, "the goſpel was to be preached in the four corners of the world in the name of the Trinity, and three times four makes twelve."

he has done; toiruige don beo ris na hictar feic iar ndenam fogla.

ACASESBA, i. e. UAIS BEO, or happy is he who ſuffers a loſs unjuſtly; it is applied thus: Bleſſed is the man who ſeeks no compenſation from his offenders, and bleſſed is he who ſatisfies after having done the damage, icas iar denamfogla. And it is alſo uſed to ſignify the complete number of witneſſes, required by law for certain crimes; for example, in caſes of murder or robbery *(fagla)* the number four is required, yet in ſome caſes, two may be ſufficient, and this particularly in the caſes of *etgen*, *comraite*, and *torba*.

Of the *fear compairte* and *carad*, from the fourth Diviſion, which comes under the term of ETGIN.

CI AN ANMAND NA CINA SIN, *or* FODAIL ANAMAND CINAID. What is the true name of the crime, *iſi cin and in gnimugad*, it is *cin*, which conſiſts in the act, though *cin* be an etgen. There are four diviſions of *etgen*, and ten *etgens*.

NI HANDSA ON FAILL, *or* DO FAIRGEAND AFAILL SMEACHT MEATHA OTHRUSA, means that if a man be wounded in the body through malice, the aggreſſor muſt get the wound healed *(as faill do gan an tothrus do denam.)*

EISLEIS *or* AILSE LEASA, means a crime committed with a full and malicious intent; from *fis leis* or from *ailſe leaſa*.

ELGNAS is the knowledge of the thing done or doing, whereby a perſon receives a wound or damage.

ANFIS

ANFIS means ignorance; ſuch, for example, as *the blind caſts*, (dall urchur) viz. over a houſe, not knowing who is on the other ſide; through a wood when in full leaf; and through a field of ſtanding corn; theſe are the three *dall urchuir*; *tar tic fo tuide*; *dar fid fo duille*; *tar gort airbha.*

IMRAICHNE means one out of his natural ſenſes, *fear rechta in ecoſe dilſig.* 1. *ime do merad aithne.*

TUCAID *or* TOGAIRM, ſignifies a proceſs in law.

TURTAIT *or* TOIRTEIT, is the place where the treſpaſs is done.

TIDRADUS, is the perfect proof of the fact, called *cin na himana.*

FOCHUIN, is a crime committed in anger or paſſion.

ACAIS, is the proximity of the place.

AGH, is the act or perpetration of murder.

DEABAID, is debate, each debate is to be weighed according to the *cin* or crime, and the penalty proportioned thereunto. *A comſlanug amail* as *comtechta do reir coir la gac cin.*

TEORA FODLA FOGLA, that is *fogail* is three fold, and may be committed in three manners, viz. by the heart, by the tongue, and by the act itſelf; to theſe correſpond the three terms, 1ſt. *Elguin*, when it regards *comraite* and determines the ſpecies. 2d. *Anfot*, when it determines the ſpecies and is referred to *comraite.* 3d. *Toiſced*, when it regards neither the genus nor the ſpecies, but is applied to *Torba.*

ELGUIN FOR, FERG AGUS IS FUIRRE FERG FRI ELGUIN, viz. *Elguin* is over *ferg* and *ferg* is under *Elguin*; for without *Elguin* there is never anger, and

and all anger is *Elguin*; for a man doth many things through *Elguin* which are not of anger, and does nothing through anger which is not of *Elguin*, therefore *Elguin* is a more extenſive term than anger or *ferg* (*b*). *Ni can elguin is ferg is gach ferg is elguin*; *do gena duine moran tre elguin nad bi ferg, agus ni digne tri ferg ni na bi helguin*; *is foirleithe elguin ina ferg deſide.*

ANFOT FOR ESPA. I. FUIRRE FOI ESBA ANFOT, i. e. *anfot* is greater than or over *eſpa*, or *anfot* is inferior to *eſba*. The word *fuirre* is the comparative degree of *fa* or *fo* under, and correſponds with the Latin word *inferius* from *infra*, and means here leſs extenſive in its ſignification and import, or applicable to fewer principles and caſes. The kind of argument above mentioned is alſo uſed thus: every *eſpa* is *anfot*, but every *anfot* is not *eſba*; for a man performs many actions through *anfot* which are not *eſba*, therefore *anfot* is more extenſive than *eſba*.

TOISCIDE FOR TORBA, Toiſcide is more extenſive than Torba, and the ſame kind of reaſoning is made uſe of. N. B. Toiſcide is the will, deſire, or inclination. Ni can toiſcide is torba, & gach torba is toiſcide; uair do genead duine moran tria toiſcide na bi torba, agus ni digne tria torba na bi toiſcide; is forleite toiſcide deſin ina torba.

No

(*b*) This reaſoning is a true philoſophical argument of an antecedent and conſequent, called in philoſophy *Enthymema*, the antecedent whereof is clearly demonſtrated. This diſtinction between the terms, together with the many others equally diſcernible in this fragment, proves that the Iriſh legiſlator was accurately verſed in the philoſophy of the great Ariſtotle, according to whom ſuch terms are ſtiled *termini magis et minus communes*.

NO FRITHAIG TORBA. I. FIR INDSAIGE DO IN EAILE IMBITH AG DENAM GNIM TORB; means one who aſſiſts a ſecond perſon to commit a crime againſt law, and ſuch a perſon is to make ſatisfaction in the one-third of the damage and penalty; *a dilſe do conuice a trian*; the ſame is to hold good if having it in his power to hinder the principal aggreſſor's eſcape when condemned or judgment paſſed, and he does not hinder it; ſome think it only means a perſon who without any aſſiſtant infringes the law. In a marginal note it is mentioned, that *fritaig* ſignifies any ſingle man who commits a crime againſt the law, having another perſon to countenance and ſupport him therein; to which it is added, that if the firſt perſon be acquitted and obliged to pay no *eric* or pecuniary fine, the *fir indſaige* or aſſiſtant will thereby be alſo exempted from paying one-third.

TEORA FODLA FOGLA. Fogla is three-fold, viz. by *gne cinel cinelach & ſubalter*; by *cinel* is meant ſpecies, and by *gne* genus; there is a *gne* in *comraite*, in *tafot*, in *torba*, and in *teaſba*, but they are all ſpecies deriving under *etguin*, which is more extenſive than any of them, and the genus of all; *ag aitfeagad don etguin*; nevertheleſs it derives itſelf under the four *fogla*, and theſe again derive under the twelve diviſions of *etguin*, ſo that the genus is under its genus as a ſubalternum.

BRA, means the judge or breheaman.

CID DECHRUITHE, is a term ſignifying, where is the criminal?

MESA, means the dead body of a perſon; the *ic* or fine muſt be paid when it is found without

motion (*cen ſeot imluaide*) and this is the fine and the manner thereof, viz. three cumalas are to be paid after the term of thirty days, which are granted free; (to which by a particular grace twenty-five days more may be added); the whole to be paid out of the region or territory wherein the dead body is found. *Caite a huide ice.* I. *tria* X *ma eiſideic i* X *laite* XX *it ſaerda ſin air* XXV *laite aicenta i uide ice na heneclan ſin cric is neſa* (*c*).

Here ends the part called *ar na feſer* or the explication of the terms, and immediately follows the part called *ar na blai*, (or on the ſections of law called *blai*), and do all belong to the legiſlation of Cormac and his ſon Carbre Liffeachair.

BIA BLAD FIACHN FERG; viz. knowing of a dead body in a loneſome place, be the body covered or uncovered, or hidden, is ſubject to this law. The ſame holds good if the body be covered over or hidden, though found in a frequented place; it alſo takes place until ſuch time as the guilty perſon owns the crime, or until it be proved againſt him according to law, or until legal compenſation be made by him. And if the body hath periſhed in a trench or in water, provided it be not a hidden dyke, and in a loneſome place, there is no other eric or fine to be paid but that of bare manſlaughter.

(*c*) Xma is an abbreviation of *cumala*, and a cumal is three cows. Has not this law a great affinity with the Levitical law, where it is commanded that if any perſon was found ſlain, and it was not known who had ſlain him, *that an heifer*, which had not been wrought with, ſhould be ſubſtituted in the place of the murderer; and the judges ſhall meaſure unto the cities round about, and that city next to the ſlain ſhall find the heifer. Deut. xxi. 1, 2, 3. So our Iriſh law ſays, the cric or region is neſa, neareſt or next.

ſlaughter. Iſi aithne an duine taidhe a denam an ditrim & gan corp do folach L a denam itir duinib indichlea & corp do folach & na go nadman inti do rigne hi no co tuctar ar do reir dlige no im denam tuaraſdal & cianataeſat an colam i claid no in uiſgci ach narab air daigin dicealta, ni fil acht eiric marbta na ma an.

*** The Editor is happy to inform his correſpondent C. that in the MSS. of Trinity College, Dublin, claſs E. tab. 3. No. 5. he has found the remaining part of the *blai*; the book begins thus, *Loc don liubar ſo Aicill iraice Teamur, 7 aimſir do aimſir Coirpri Liffeachair mac Cormac 7 pearſa do Cormuc*, i. e. The place where this book was written was Aicill near Tara, in the time of Carbre Liffeachair mac Cormac, and the perſon Cormac. Then follows the hiſtory of Ceallach mac Cormac thus, Ceallach M'Cormac having by force taken away the daughter of Sorar mac Artcairb, Aongus Gabhuaidach who was an Arigh-eachta, and at that time in the territory of Luighne, revenging ſome injuſtice done to his tribe, by chance went into the houſe of a woman of that territory, and forcibly took from her ſome milk and curds: It would be more becoming you, ſays the woman, to take revenge on Ceallach M'Cormac, in your niece's cauſe, than to rob me of my proviſions. Diſdaining to reſent this language on the woman, he made directly towards Tara, where he arrived after ſun-ſet. Now there was a law prohibiting any perſon coming armed into Tara after ſun-ſet, ſo he went in unarmed, and taking down Cormac's ſpear from the place where it hung in the hall of Tara, he killed Ceallach M'Cormac on the ſpot, and drawing back the ſpear with great force, the ferrol at the end ſtruck out Cormac's eye and wounded the reactaire or judge of Tara in the back, of which he died. Then Cormac was ſent to Aichill hard by Tara, to be cured; upon which the ſovereignty of Ireland was conferred on Carbre Liffeachair, the ſon of Cormac, according to the eſtabliſhed law, that no king having a corporeal blemiſh can reign in Ireland. It is then added, that Tara was ſo ſituated it could be ſeen from Aicill, but Aicill could not be ſeen from Tara; and then begins the Eitge, one folio of which is wanting. The reader muſt notice that in this preface Aicill is deſcribed as the name of a place; in the fragment above-mentioned Aicill is ſaid to be a Juriſconſult; this might proceed from the place being ſo called after the perſon.

Here ends the Fragment, ſo that all the reſt of the *blai* are wanting, and all that part compoſed by Cinſaela and promulgated by Donal mac Aeda mac Aimirech king of Ulſter.

The impartial reader, after peruſing this extract, will eaſily ſee that my diſtinction between the text of the law and the explication of the text, is well grounded; that the former is of a much higher antiquity than the Chriſtian era, though the latter was really the compoſition of a Chriſtian. The ſtyle of the text is extremely ancient, and the language admitted of many expoſitions, even from a writer whoſe time ſeems to approach within a century or two at the moſt of St. Patrick's. He ſometimes gives many and oppoſite ſenſes to the ſame term, and at other times cites the authority of the ancients in order to explain himſef. In a word, every character diſcernible in the text, demonſtrates its antiquity, and proves it is truly and genuinely the work of the Pagan Juriſconſult and of the Pagan Iriſh princes to whom it is attributed; which being duly proved, moſt poſitively evinces the uſe of letters at leaſt long before the epoch of Chriſtianity in this iſland.

I do not recollect to have met any where with the words *cailc luibar*, a chalk book; it ſeems to denote that Cormac uſed tablets, covered with ſome certain kind of matter, fit to ſmooth the ſurfaces, and to render them fit to inſcribe, what he thought proper on them. The word *cailc* indeed means *chalk*, but it may alſo denote parchment rendered white by chalk. The true ſenſe requires to be cleared up by other paſſages in our Iriſh monuments, and for this reaſon I leave it to the better judgment

judgment and literary reſearches of our antiquarians. Now as the laws regarding manſlaughter form the firſt part of the ſection called *na blai*, and that the explication of the terms ſerved only for a preparation to that part, I ſhall take notice of ſome curious and uſeful circumſtances tending to illuſtrate thoſe laws. The *Eric* or fine for manſlaughter ſpecified in the above fragment, did not regard the perſon who committed the fact, but was payable to the provincial king, from the *petty ſtate* or principality wherein the body of a man or woman was found dead, unleſs the chief of that ſtate had the particular privilege and faculty of having his people exempted from ſuch a fine; which indeed was one of the moſt conſiderable immunities a provincial king could beſtow on a chief of his province. There was a difference obſerved in the infliction of this fine, for if the fact was proved to be wilful murder, the fine was rigorous, if involuntary, it was leſs rigorous, and in both caſes proportioned to the dignity or baſeneſs of the deceaſed perſon's condition. And although the aggreſſor did ſuffer the penalty which the law inflicted, the diſtrict or ſtate wherein the crime was perpetrated, was not thereby exempted in the leaſt degree from paying the fine. This rigour obliged the natives of any diſtrict to be careful and vigilant in preſerving each others lives, as well as of ſtrangers, leſt they ſhould ſuffer through the malice and wickedneſs of others. And certain it is, that many misfortunes which we ſee happen daily amongſt us, may be efficaciouſly prevented by ſuch means; the natives of a diſtrict having it often in their power to obviate them. It

was for that reaſon, without doubt, our Iriſh legiſlators enacted ſuch laws. I do not remember to have ſeen any example of the kind of puniſhment, which theſe laws inflicted on a man guilty of murder; they all regarded the ſtate or region wherein the facts were committed; except one in the Liber Lecanus, where it is mentioned a perſon was fined ſeven cumalas (twenty-one cows) for having wounded an eccleſiaſtic in the arm; and I have read, that the anceſtor of O'Mora, lord of the country, now called Queen's county, by a ſpecial grace, had his ſtate exempted from paying *Eric* or fine, to the king of Leinſter, in caſe of murder or manſlaughter happening in any part thereof.

We muſt obſerve that the Iriſh fines are moſtly ſpecified by paying *cumalas*, which word, according to its modern acceptance, ſince the Chriſtian era, means only three cows; but I have ſomewhere met with that expreſſion regarding Pagan times, wherein it denoted men or women ſlaves, guilty of crimes deſerving death, which were delivered up as a part of the *Eric*, to be ſacrificed to the manes of the deceaſed.

So much has been ſaid, and to the purpoſe, in the preceding numbers of this Collectanea (p. 392) of the unjuſt and ſevere aſperſion of Sir John Davis, on the ancient Brehon Laws of Ireland, I ſhall deſiſt entering into an argument that has been already ſo well handled; as we are informed that the moſt complete collection now extant of the Brehon Laws was in the duke of Chandois' library, but not perfect, and that twenty-eight volumes of theſe laws, formerly in that library, are now in the poſſeſſion of

Sir

Sir John Seabright, Bart. who has indulged the author of the Collectanea with two volumes; all lovers of antiquity ſhould be very deſirous to have clean copies of thoſe volumes taken off and publiſhed. Theſe would very probably ſerve to throw ſome further lights, not only on the ſtate-conſtitution, the manners and genius of our anceſtors, but alſo on the very origin of the natives.

In the Eſſay on the *Antiquity of the Iriſh Language*, addreſſed to the Literati of Europe, the author gives us a ſpecimen of a code of laws compoſed by *Sean* ſon of Aigid, in the time of Fergus mac Leid, king of Ulſter twenty-ſix years before the birth of Chriſt; it is called *Seanchas mor*, or the great antiquity. The exhibition of ſuch a fragment would evidently prove the point in queſtion, if the ſtyle did not ſhow it to be of a later compoſition; and hence I am apt to think, that the explication of the text was written by ſome Chriſtian, but that the texts or principal heads, to which ſuch explicatory gloſſes belong, were of that author. For certain it is, that the ſaid ſpecimen is not delivered in more obſcure and obſolete terms and ſtile, than the terms I have copied from Carbre Liffeachair's code, as above ſpecified.

The ſpecimen given us is taken out of the body of that code, and regards landed properties, that were ſequeſtered from the male line, in favour of females, to whom they had been ceded, by way of marriage portion or dowry. The ſtatute ſays, that ſuch an aſſignation is invalid, and is to be reformed according to the rectitude of juſtice; it is land delivered (ſays that old author) againſt the

right

right of a family, and twelve tongues or Juriſconſults are of more weight to ſupport the right of the male line, than one tongue or one Juriſconſult that would reſtore it to the females; meaning, that there is twelve to one in favour of the male right. The ſpecimen runs thus: Tir do beir i coibchi mna, nad bi maith, nad uidnaidet a folta coire. Tir do beir dar braigit fine, aratreiſſu in da tengaid dec diathintud. Oldas in toen tenga doaſend. And then follows, Gach fuidir conatothcus techta niica cinaid a meic; which words are the concluſion of the foregoing part of the ſtatute. The firſt words are an axiom of the law, equivalent to the Latin axiom regarding property, viz. *res clamat Domino ſuo.* The Iriſh literally means, *every profit claims a return to the right owner*, and the reſt ſerve for a concluſion, viz. *a ſon or male kindred, you ſhall pay no fine for the fault*, meaning, that as right and juſtice favour you, the law ſhall not puniſh but protect you.

The following words are the text of a new law on the ſame ſubject, viz. nachai nachaiarmui nach aindui nach; and the enſuing part to the end is an explication of this very old text which may be thus interpreted: *Of the proximity of blood, that perſon is to ſuffer the legal penalties to whoſe eſtate the fattened cattle belong; for the property of the furniture does not belong to him, except only in the caſe of* etgin, *nor can he enjoy the rights of the ſon's offspring when the male line is not extinct; but the ſaid perſon may poſſeſs the ſheep which are fattened on the eſtate; if he goes beyond this, he muſt pay a fine for his fault, and bear the burden of his treſpaſs.* The words run thus:

a comoceus

a comoceus fine nach a cinaid fadeifin flathair idmbiatha ife iccafs a cinaid. Air ni lais dire a feoit achd colabhin aithgena na ma ni gaib dire ameic nai naca dibad na ceraicc nacha mathair flaith ar ambiatha iffi nodbeir, agus iccas a chinaid agus folloing acinta. Here the fpecimen ends; it is hoped the author of that eſſay, will oblige us with a publication of the whole law, and every other fragment of the like kind in his poſſeſſion.

By the above fpecimen, the heads whereof appear to be compiled by a pagan author, and ordained or digeſted by the perſon to whom it is attributed, the truth of the exiſtence of letters in Ireland before Chriſtianity, is probably demonſtrated. But this is not the only advantage the author ſeems deſirous of pointing to, by this ſelection of that code, for it alſo gives us a clear and poſitive law, according to which, all landed properties were to be veſted in the male line, with an expreſs excluſion of females even in the caſe of dowry or portion, and unleſs the male offspring of the family were extinct. This law was univerſal amongſt the old Iriſh in primitive times, from the ſceptre to the ploughſhare, from the king to the loweſt condition of men, who poſſeſſed landed property; it was univerſally received as a national maxim, flowing from the particular genius and ſpirit that characteriſed the natives, and from the political circumſtances in which they found themſelves ſituated, relatively to their neighbours, as well as from their own common views and public intereſts.

Thus that national and ſtate maxim originally eſtabliſhed among the Franks, after their firſt ſettlements

ments in Gaul, by which all female heirs were excluded from any ſhare in the inheritances, which they called Salic lands, was not only the reſult of their military genius, but alſo a neceſſary meaſure of public expediency, for extending their conqueſts on the ruins of the Roman empire. Yet it ſhould not be judged that the Franks were either the firſt, or the only nation that adopted it; no, for it was certainly common to other nations that carefully obſerved it, with regard to all landed tenures of a like original conſtitution with the Salic lands.

We have good authority to ſay, that a great part of them were the ſame individual lands that had been ſet apart by the Roman emperors, particularly by Alexander Severus, in the year of Chriſt 222, as penſionary livings, called *military benefices*, and appropriated to thoſe officers who were charged with the defence of certain provinces. Now as the right of the proprietors was conditional, and depended on perſonal military ſervice, *females* were naturally excluded from any ſhare in them. The Franks being poſſeſſed of theſe according as they fell vacant, under their king Clovis and his ſons, the Salic laws made no change in their tenure, but left them ſtill ſubject to the obligation of military ſervice. Hence that expreſs clauſe of excluding women and their race, from ſharing in thoſe ſtate or Salic lands, ſo fundamental in the French conſtitution, took its firſt riſe. And in effect ſince the very Crown and its royal landed properties, were the firſt and principal Salic fief, a female ſucceſſion with regard to the Crown, muſt be highly

inconſiſtent

inconſiſtent with the fundamental maxims of the French ſtate.

According to the tenure of our Iriſh laws, all females were excluded from having any ſhare in the chief adminiſtration of affairs, as well with regard to the government of the whole kingdom, as to its petty ſtates and inferior principalities; for no other reaſon, without doubt, than that theſe ſtates required military ſervice, for which the female ſex was diſqualified by nature. In effect they found themſelves ſituated among different tribes of people, whoſe principal repreſentatives were ſometimes ambitious, and unjuſt enough to encroach on their landed properties; the falſe glory of being eſteemed more powerful and more expert in war than their neighbours, joined to their intereſts and the advancement of their reſpective trials, often determined theſe men to diſturb the public quiet, and endeavour to raiſe themſelves on the ruins of others. Hence followed a political neceſſity in every branch or ſept, to chuſe out for their chiefs and leaders, men of known valour and experience, to fight their battles ſucceſſively, and to defend their landed properties againſt all invaders. And hence the maxim of excluding women from inheriting landed properties was as ſacred amongſt the ancient Iriſh, as amongſt the Franks, or any other people. And as the lands of all the petty ſtates did abſolutely and indiſpenſably exclude women from inheriting them, ſo the ſame law gradually became general, and deſcended to the loweſt denomination of land proprietors.

The

The above Iriſh ſpecimen deſcribes the injuſtice of alienating the lands from the male line, in favour of women, by the expreſſive term of TIR DO BEIR DAR BRAIGIT FINE. At this day when a man encroaches on any lands, and takes it to farm, by underhand dealing and unknown terms, *do ghlac ſe tar mo braigid è*, or elſe, *as gniomh fill do rin ſe mo thalamh do ghlaca thar mo bhraghaid amach*; by which it would appear, that when the male line of one family was extinct, the eſtate was to devolve on the ſept or *fine*, and became the property of their males.

The ſame law was obſerved by other European nations; the Goths and Vandals excluded women from ſucceeding to the throne. We have a very remarkable inſtance of this, in the hiſtory of *Amalaſontha*, daughter to the famous Theodoric, (and mother of Athelric) king of the Oſtrogoths. This princeſs, whoſe bright genius and eminent knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues will always do her memory honour, was nevertheleſs diſqualified to reign after the death of her ſon, on account of her ſex, and married Theodatus, with a view to exerciſe all regal power under his name, in which however ſhe found herſelf fatally miſtaken in 534. See Caſſiodor. var. lib. 10.

The Roman empire and the Imperial Crown excluded women from ever inheriting it. Thus when Atilla king of the Huns, ſurnamed the ſcourge of God, demanded in marriage Honoria ſiſter to Valentinian III. with a view of ſharing

in

in the empire, by virtue of her right, the emperor anſwered, that even in caſe he were married to Honoria, he could derive no right from her, inaſmuch as women had none to the empire. *Neque imperium Honoriæ deberi; virorum enim non mulierum Romanum imperium eſſe.* See Priſcus Rhetor. Ducheſne. tom. 1. p. 223.

The Iriſh in primitive times were not only attentive in obſerving ſtrictly the above law, in favour of the male line, from a political and neceſſary principle, but they alſo obſerved diſtributive juſtice, in ſharing equitably with the males of their reſpective families. They ſhewed particular honour to their chiefs, and theſe in return did not deſpiſe their inferiors, in the diſtribution of goods. The heads of families conſidered that the ſupport of their friends and relations in time of war, was abſolutely neceſſary, both for repelling the power of their enemies and advancing their military conqueſts, and therefore they judged that the ſanction of rewards and a fair and honeſt partition of landed properties, which were often the fruit of their common valour, was the moſt firm and efficacious cement of union, that could ſubſiſt between the prince and his relations. Hence the very nature of theſe military tenures rendered them capable of being divided and ſubdivided between the males of the firſt proprietors, and hence the law of gavelling them took its riſe, and was as univerſally obſerved in this kingdom, as the very law of excluding the female ſex from any ſhare in them, has been proved to be.

This

This gavelling ſettlement the Iriſh called GABHALTUS CINE, or GABHAIL CINE, literally meaning FAMILY-SETTLEMENT, from whence the Engliſh formed the term GAVEL-KIND. GABHALTUS or GABHAIL, pronounced GAVAIL, in Iriſh ſignifies any landed ſettlement, lately acquired by conqueſt, by inheritance, or by contract; but its etymologycal meaning is CONQUEST. Thus by the words LEABHAR NA GABHALA is underſtood the book of Conqueſts; and in the Iriſh hiſtory of Thomond called Caithreim Toirdealbhaig, deſcribing the bloody wars carried on between the O'Briens of Thomond and thoſe of Arra, in the thirteenth century, the ſettlement or eſtate which the latter poſſeſſed themſelves of in the country of Arra, is called GABHALTUS.

The Franks obſerved the ſame law of dividing the tenures called Salic lands. Abbe Du Bos ſhows a remarkable inſtance of that truth; he quotes for his voucher the celebrated Bodinus, citing the teſtamentary act of a gentleman of Guyenne, whereby the father divides between his ſons, the Salic or feodal lands of which he was proprietor. And in the ſame place, this author obſerves, that in all appearance thoſe military benefices were the true origin of the landed properties called FIEFS NOBLE, or tenures in military ſervice.

The Anglo-Saxons alſo obſerved this cuſtom; it is well known they divided their landed intereſts between the poſſeſſor's children, which they called in their language GIFE-AL-KIN, a word nearly ſimilar in ſound and in meaning to the Iriſh term GABHAIL-CINE.

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The Welſh, who are the remains of the old Britons, in like manner obſerved this law, at all times, exactly in the ſame manner as the Iriſh, and continued ſo to do until the thirty-ſecond year of Henry the Eighth's reign. See War. Antiq. Hib. c. 8. Davis Hiſt. relat. p. 20.

It is then no way ſurpriſing, that the chief STRONGBONIAN families, excluſive of thoſe confined within the Engliſh pale about Dublin, obſerved the ſame old cuſtom at their firſt ſettling in this kingdom. The FITZGERALDS, the BARRYS, the BURKS, &c. &c. were as obſervant of it as the Iriſh; and whether they derived it from the practice of their anceſtors the Franco-Normans and Welſh, who religiouſly obſerved it, as I have ſhown, or whether they conformed themſelves to it, as they did to the other cuſtomary laws of this nation, certain it is, that they did ſtrictly follow it. This has been a diſputed point; but to put it beyond a doubt, I will here tranſlate a paſſage from a book called *Leabar Irſe clainne I Maolchonnaire*; which treats particularly of ſome Gavels made in three different branches of the O'Brien race; and then follows this Gavel belonging to the Burks of Caſtleconnel and Brittas.

It begins by relating, that the baron of Caſtleconnel was cotemporary with the genealogiſt; the ſaid baron was Tiboid ſon of Tiboid, ſon of William, ſon of Edmond, ſon of William, ſon of Richard, ſon of Walter, ſon of Richard, ſon of Edmond, ſon of Richard firſt earl of Ulſter, called Iarla rua, ſon of William og, ſon of William Congur,

Congur. This red earl was generaliſſimo to Edward I. in Ireland, England, Scotland, and Gaſcony.

Walter Burk, baron of Caſtleconning, now called Caſtleconnel, third direct deſcendant from Richard de Burgo earl of Ulſter, divides his eſtate between his three ſons Richard, Edmond, and Tobias. Richard firſt Iarla rua or red earl, ſon to William og, ſon of William Congur.

Walter gave to theſe three ſons, whom he had by his wife daughter to Mac William, unequal portions of land, viz. to the eldeſt ſon Richard, who is ſtiled heir, he gave the four plow-lands of Tiubridaron, Caſtleconaing and the ſix plow-lands that are its annexes, two plow-lands of Ballylaſgy, four plow-lands of Cahircinlis, and four plow-lands of Cluain Mænagain in Clan Richard; which in all make twenty plowlands; he had beſides (*da cheathramhan deag*) twelve quarters of the lands of Cala.

He gave his ſecond ſon Edmond four plow-lands of Diſirt labrais, the four plow-lands of Garran i ciava ſituate in Aoſtri muighe, making in all for him eight plow-lands.

To his third ſon Tobias or Theobald he gave the four plow-lands of Brittas, two plowlands of Rath Siurtan, and a plow-land of Carrig Ciotail, and he was to receive a mark every year as rent out of the two free plow-lands of Ballylaſky. *Marg cioſa ſan mbliain a dha Sheiſiric haera an bhaile loiſgthe.*

It was indeed reaſonable and juſt that Richard the eldeſt ſon ſhould be more generouſly dealt with than his brothers, not only by virtue of his birth-rank, but becauſe he had many children; for

for by his firſt wife, daughter of Macnamara, he had John and Walter; by his ſecond wife Catharine Fitzgerald, daughter of the knight of the Glin, he had Richard, Ulic and Thomas; and by Elizabeth Butler, daughter of Mac Phiarais, he had Tobias and Ulic the younger, without mentioning the female offspring.

Richard the red earl was ſtiled earl of Ulſter, in right of his mother Mora, only daughter and heireſs of Hugo de Lacey earl of Ulſter; his ſecond ſon Edmond married Slany O'Brien, daughter of Turlogh O'Brien, lord of Thomond. Edmond's eldeſt brother John de Burgo was anceſtor to the earls of Clan-Ricard.

It may now be objected that theſe examples of the exiſtence of the law of Gavel kind only regards the Iriſh in the time of Chriſtianity, and is no way pertinent to the deſign of this eſſay, which ſhould principally tend to illuſtrate the laws, cuſtoms, manners and literature of the pagan Iriſh. My anſwer is, that the introduction and eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion amongſt us did not change, or meddle in the political or civil laws of the nation, that were juſt in themſelves, and adapted to the genius of the people; it only rectified what was vicious or unjuſt in them, and ſquared them to the interior law of conſcience, and the dictates of good reaſon, ſecurely directed by the goſpel. Hence the converſion of a people to Chriſtianity did not affect their political principles of government, nor cauſe the leaſt alteration in their civil ſtatutes, when theſe were equitable. And ſince no ſort of injuſtice was ſuffered by the Gavel law, but

on the contrary, all parties had their rights maintained for them by its tenure, conſequently it muſt be ſuppoſed that it was an ancient fundamental maxim of the Iriſh nation. I am confident that the Iriſh will find it enacted amongſt their laws, in their literary reſearches into antiquity; and hence I may conclude with a certain degree of plauſibility, that although no proofs taken from authentic writings of pagan times could be now exhibited, nevertheleſs a ſimple perſpective of the examples above cited, will ſufficiently evince its having exiſted in this kingdom long before St. Patrick.

Nor are we deſtitute of proofs to clear up this difficulty. I ſhall take no notice of the diviſions which certain Iriſh princes made of the kingdom between their children, at epochas very diſtant from Chriſtianity, as mentioned by Keating and O'Flaherty, becauſe they are eſteemed fabulous authors. I ſhall point out a very ſingular gavel, from the Liber Lecanus; it is made by the famous Nial, ſurnamed of the nine hoſtages, who diſtributed his eſtates, called *a cric bunait*, between his ſons, in the following manner, viz. 1ſt, to Eogan he gave the lands of Oileach or Oileach tir, called Tyrone; 2d, to Conalgulban he gave from Lough Foyle to the ſtrand of Neothaile eaſtwards; 3d, to Fergus the lands intervening between both, thus expreſſed *cehtarde 7 bai ſe cechtar nai*, which words ſeem to mean, that he was to have his alternative in the government, with his two now mentioned brothers; *judicet lector*; 4th, to Conal he gave the territory of Breag, ſituated in the province of Meath; 5th, to Carbre, who was the *ſinſear* or eldeſt of his ſons, he

he gave the north parts of his demeſnes; 6th, to his brother Feachra, the territories near the ſea, from Eaſrua to Salmon's leap to Rind i fiachrach in Connaught; 7th, to Maine he gave from Cruachan fead, (or the wood of Cruachán) ſituated in i Briuin Connaught to Lough Ribh on the Shannon, and he conſtituted him *high protector* of all Ireland, *tug do Ard-comairce Eirin uile*; 8th, to Laogaire, ſurnamed garb, he gave the lands and government of Tara, *follamnas Teamra*; 9th, to Enna Ilcrothach (or of many ſhapes) and to his brother Laogaire beg (or the little) he gave from Lough Aidnin in Meath to the north-weſt; 10th, to Fiacha he gave Uiſnech mor in Meath, in the very centre of Ireland.

Upon all theſe different ſpecimens of Iriſh Gavels, ſeveral obſervations do naturally occur. Firſt, that either the fathers or the ſeniors of families generally obſerved an equitable and ſometimes an equal portion of ſhares, between the *males* of the ſaid families, whereof we ſee perfect examples in the preceding gavels. Secondly, that the *natural ſons* had their equal ſhares, as well as the ſons born in lawful wedlock; from both which circumſtances, we have reaſon to conclude, that this cuſtom was grounded on the *patriarchal* or primitive law of nature, and conſequently derived from a principle of a more ancient eſtabliſhment than the laws of Chriſtian princes, whereby *baſtards* are excluded from ſucceeding to the family eſtate, while the legitimate children are living. Thus according to the ſame primitive law, Jacob's ſons by the handmaids of his wives Leah and Rachel, are ranked amongſt the *heads of the twelve tribes of Iſrael*, upon a level in

point of landed property, with the ſons of his lawful wives, and their deſcendants entitled to enjoy their ſhares of the land of promiſe, as well as thoſe ſprung from the other children of that patriarch.

It is alſo remarkable, that it was generally the ſenior, and not the direct heir in lineal deſcent from the common ſtock, who was qualified to make this gavel, becauſe he was the chief proprietor; of this we ſee a clear inſtance in the Cuanagh gavel made by Conor mor O'Brien, whoſe couſin-german Turlogh ſon of Thady, ſurnamed Anchomraic (the fighter) was the direct heir, this Thady being the elder brother of Mortogh father to Conor mor. Notwithſtanding we ſee that Conor, by his right of ſeniority, was chief of the family, proprietor of its landed eſtates, and ſolely qualified to make the gavel; the text runs thus: *Tug an Conchur morſa leath na codach ranna fearainn rainig e fein do dhis mhac Taidg an chomhraic air a mbeith na ſinſior braithrech aige*; he explains this matter fully by the following words, *dob oge an Muircheartach ſo athair Chonchubhair mhoir na Taidhg an chomhraic.*

Another obſervation, equally curious, may be noticed, viz. that though the chief or ſenior ſtints himſelf to a bare equality of ſhare with every other male of the family, yet he reſerves the chief property of the eſtate as veſted in himſelf during his life, by ſubjecting all the other ſhares to a chief rent, which was to be paid him in an humble and dutiful manner. This was doubtleſs ſlight and inconſiderable, nevertheleſs it was a ſufficient mark both of his authority over them, and of their dependency on him, as their chief lord; in a word,

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the equality of ſhares, ſhowed a real community of goods between the members of the family, and the reſerved chief rent, both ſecured the reſpect due to the ſenior, and declared the property of the eſtate to be veſted in him alone. Hence what Strabo applies to the *Aſiatic Iberians* was equally applicable to the *Iriſh nation* in former times. *Hi omnia per familias communia habent; ſed is imperat et rem habet qui ſenior eſt.*

Now as the reſerve of chief rent on the gavelled lands, not only eſtabliſhed the ſway, and influence of the chief lord, or head of the family, over all the members of the tribe, and likewiſe ſecured for him a reverſion of the eſtate when the actual tenants either forfeited or died without iſſue; ſo this cuſtom was not, and could not be then attended with any conſequences ſo deſtructive of the ſplendor of a family, as it muſt be in our days. In ancient times the dignity of a chief did not depend on pecuniary revenues; it conſiſted in his power and influence over the tribe he governed, in the affluence of proviſions he had for his houſhold, and in the number of fighting men he could command to vindicate his rights, to aſſiſt his friends, or to enlarge his conqueſts. And as to the ſplendor of the tribe in general, it conſiſted in their numbers, in the full and peaceable enjoyment of their rights, and in their capacity of furniſhing their family chiefs with their different ſupplies.

In fine, the Gavel cuſtom, as it was obſerved by the ancient Iriſh, appears to have been perfectly reconcileable with the exigencies of the ſtate, and with the dignity of any chieftain, were he even a ſovereign

ſovereign prince. And why not? ſince it was grounded on the law of nature and reaſon, the law of diſtributive juſtice and equity; and ſince it was adapted to times and circumſtances of political government, in which it could not be productive of any conſequences prejudicial to public or private economy; it ſecured their prerogatives to the eldeſt, and their birthrights to the younger brothers of a family, far from qualifying the latter, in any caſual circumſtances, to uſurp the natural rights of the former.

I flatter myſelf the reader will now be convinced of the unjuſt epithets of *barbarous and uncivil*, which have been thrown on the laws and manners of the ancient Iriſh; for to uſe the words of an honourable and very learned author, "the old acts of a ſtate, are not only the beſt materials for a hiſtory, but they are likewiſe ſtrong deſcriptions of the manners of the times." And I am ſorry this honourable gentleman (*e*) ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be miſled ſo much with reſpect to the Iriſh, as to declare his opinion lately in a very learned aſſembly, that "the kings of Ireland, even ſo late as the reign of Richard II. ſeem to have been as little civilized as the *ſavages of North America*." The honourable gentleman indeed grounded his authority on a writer, who knew as much of the manners of the people of Ireland, as he did of thoſe of Otaheite. With as much propriety he might quote a writer of the

(*e*) Hon. Daines Barrington, in a paper read before the ſociety of antiquarians, London, on March 14, 1771, and printed in the third volume of Archæolog. p. 75. The authority he mentions is Froiſſart, l. 3. p. 204.

the *laſt century*, to prove the Iriſh of *that age* to have been *pagans*; *under the Brehon laws*; *living like wild beaſts in the woods*; *drinkers of the blood of animals*; *and eaters of raw fleſh (f)*. But at the very period this honourable and learned gentleman is pleaſed to denominate them ſavages, we beg leave to prove, from as good authority, that the Iriſh were a civilized, mercantile people, and renowned for their manufactures in a country where arts and ſciences had been long eſtabliſhed.

Similamente paſſamo en IRLANDA,
La qual fra noi e degna de fama
Per le nobile ſaie che *ci manda*.

Queſta gente ben che moſtra ſelvaggia
E per li monti la contrada accierba
Non de meno le dolcie ad cui laſaggia.

Dita mundi, componuto per Fazio di Gluberti de Fizenza. Capitulo 26. Printed 1474.

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(f) Lucæ De Linda, Deſcriptio Orbis. Amſterdam 1665. p. 385. Mores Hibernorum noſtri temporis. Baptizatis infantibus nomina imponunt profana—matrimonia contrahunt, non de præſenti, ſed de futuro, ideo facile divortium admittunt, ubi ſine negotio maritus aliam quærit uxorem et mulier alterum maritum—ſilveſtres Irlandi in genua procumbunt, cum novilunium ſpectant—frumentum pro equis, quorum ingentem gerunt curam, ſervant—urgente nimium fame etiam crudas carnes comedunt—vaccæ ſanguinem coagulatum butyro ſuperfundunt, et ita comedunt. Adhæc Anglo-Hiberni adeo ab antiquis illis Hibernis ſunt ſeperati ut colonorum omnium ultimus qui in Anglica provincia habitat, filiam ſuam, vel nobiliſſimo Hibernorum principi in matrimonium non daret.—Tales vero lites æſtimare ſolent certi homines quos *Brehonios* appellant, qui tam juris civilis, quam Britannici ignorantes ſunt, judicantque ſolum ex domeſticis conſuetudinibus, quæ uſu et frequentia actuum receptæ ſunt.—In ſylvis et montanis velut feræ oberrent locis —quod illorum ſpectat eruditionem, illa valde exigua eſt. Medicos ibi hæreditas, non doctrina facit, ſatiſque ſe doctos putant, ſi illud Hippocratis, *ars longa vita brevis* recitare queant.

The author according to ſome was prior to Dante. Creſcimbini thinks he flouriſhed about 1370.

In art. *ſaie* in the Dict. della Cruſca, there is quoted an ancient romance, called *quattre conte*, in which the hero gives a gown of *ſaia d'Irlanda* to his miſtreſs.

Ci manda in line 3. undoubtedly marks an eſtabliſhed trade and not an accidental intercourſe; and in the Brehon laws prior to this time, we find a tax upon Italian wine, and on the ſhells of the great cocoa nuts, brought from Italy, to be made into drinking cups. The Brehon laws are ſaid to have been annulled at a parliament held at Kilkenny, in the government of L. D. of Clarence, who landed in 1365.

OF

OF THE

LITERATURE

OF THE

IRISH,

AFTER THE

ESTABLISHMENT

OF

CHRISTIANITY.

NO man underſtood the languages of theſe iſlands better than Mr. Lhwyd, and no man has done more juſtice to the purity of the Iberno-Celtic or Iriſh dialect. This learned antiquarian avers, that he had ſeen and peruſed an ancient Iriſh vocabulary in manuſcript, wherein the letter P was not comprehended. No Iriſh manuſcripts ſtill extant, or even in Mr. Lhwyd's time, can with any well grounded authority, be eſteemed of higher antiquity, than the beginning of the ninth century, or at moſt the end of the eighth, although it muſt be allowed, that ſome poetical fragments regarding hiſtory and genealogy, compoſed by authors who lived

lived before the eighth century, have been copied by the annaliſts of ſucceeding ages, and by them tranſmitted down to us; yet we muſt candidly own, that manuſcripts of the ninth century are exceeding rare; but ſince Mr. Lhwyd, whoſe candour was not inferior to his erudition, does not give his opinion of the antiquity of his manuſcript vocabulary, I advance its date high enough, when I ſuppoſe it to have been written in the tenth century; and if the letter P were then uſed, it is beyond all doubt, that it may be found in it, as well as the other letters of the Iriſh alphabet. Hence we may conclude with full aſſurance, that the Iriſh did not receive the letter P for writing their own language, before the tenth century, if they adopted it even ſo early; the plain conſequence of which is, that till then, they received and made uſe of no more than ſixteen letters, for writing their language.

The ſparing uſe the Iriſh have made of the letter P, even ſince they adopted it, and their care in ſubſtituting the letter B in its place, plainly ſhows, they looked upon them as characters of the ſame organ. This obſervation carries far greater weight, when we conſider this ſubſtitution to take place, even in words evidently borrowed from the Latin, wherein the letter P always was the dominant character; as in the Iriſh words *deiſciobal* a diſciple, *abſdal* an apoſtle. Now it is clear to every perſon, that theſe two words unknown to the Iriſh before their converſion to Chriſtianity, were written with the letter P and never with B, the former of Latin origin

origin *disciplulus*, and the latter of a Greek derivation was always written *apostolos* in that tongue, and *apostolus* in the Latin. It is evident from many examples which might be quoted, that the Greeks and Romans had not been accurate enough to distinguish between these two characters, until their languages threw off the antique dress of barbarism, and became polished and refined by a succession of great poets and orators capable of refining the language, while they reformed the literary taste of their countrymen. And it is a known fact, that the Dutch and Flemings, and several provincialists on the continent, do not distinctly and inconfusedly pronounce these two characters to this very day. I may also add, that in the old Runic alphabet called by Olaus Wormius, *alphabetum Runicum Gothorum vetustissimum*, no other difference is to be seen between B and P, except that the same character is punctuated twice to point out P, though in the Runic alphabet of Vulphila (first bishop of the Visigoths) to be seen in Olaus Wormius's Runic literature, both these characters are as different as any other letters of that alphabet. It is needless to quote examples where the Irish have generally substituted the letter B instead of P, in these words, wherein the latter letter is now made use of without any difficulty, since many examples of it are to be met with, in almost every page of the vellum manuscripts. Yet I have not seen any manuscripts, in which that letter did not sometimes occur, (some folios of the Brehon laws excepted) although less frequently than in the Irish writings of later times, so that the higher we mount up, the antiquity of the

the manuſcripts is more diſcernable, by the little uſe made of P. Indeed it is ſcarcely at all to be found in the Iriſh fragments, cited here and there, from the firſt preachers of the goſpel and their immediate ſucceſſors, conſequently before the introduction of Latin literature in this iſland, the letter P was not ſo much as known; or if they obſerved any difference between it and B, they thought ſo cloſe an affinity reigned between the organic powers of both, as that the characters proper for expreſſing the one, might equally ſerve for ſounding the other; leaving it always to the judicious reader's underſtanding and experience to make the diſcernment, and to diſtinguiſh by his articulation, what was yet undetermined for want of a diſtinct character; hence in ſome of our modern grammars the P is called B *bog* i. e. B ſoft.

To the above remarks I ſhall adjoin the following obſervation, as curious in itſelf, as pertinent to the preſent diſcuſſion. The Iriſh monuments which either conſuming time, or the extravagant zeal of parties, have permitted to reach our times, chiefly conſiſt of literal tranſlations and comments on the old or new teſtaments, commonly concluding with the recital of ſome miracle, or the lives of the ſaints and martyrs; and there is ſcarcely any voluminous piece of vellum manuſcripts, which does not alſo comprehend ſome few diſſertations on medicine, and are for the moſt part literal tranſlations of Hippocrates and Galen, the two moſt celebrated phyſicians whom antiquity can boaſt of. In all theſe compoſitions, we find Latin texts and quotations very faithfully cited, not only from the Pentateuch,

Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Evangeliſts, moſtly according to the ancient vulgate or Italic verſion, but alſo from the original Greek of the two famous parents of medicine above-mentioned; I have alſo in my poſſeſſion a very fair copy of *Sillanus de Nigris in Almanſorem*, beautifully written on vellum. Now it is remarkable, that although the letter P be often uſed in the orthography of theſe authors, yet in the quotations it is generally omitted, and the letter B ſubſtituted in its room, by our Iriſh ſcriveners. This muſt have been done with knowledge and deſign, and clearly demonſtrates, that the Iriſh did not receive or uſe it earlier than about the ninth or beginning of the tenth century; for it is unqueſtionably true, that ſeveral of thoſe manuſcripts are not more ancient than that epoch, as may be eaſily diſcovered by the novelty of the ſtyle and other characters.

There is another inſtance regarding this character worthy of notice, as it ſtands coeval with Chriſtianity itſelf in Ireland, and ſeems to furniſh us with a ſubſidiary proof of the uſe of letters having been ſubſtituted in Ireland before that period. All readers of eccleſiaſtic hiſtory are no ſtrangers to the religious veneration and ſolemnity paid by all Chriſtians, to the feſtival of *Eaſter*, both in the Greek and Latin churches, but particularly by thoſe who were to be employed in the converſion of infidels. Great debates have ariſen concerning the day of its celebration in an early period; it may be ſuppoſed the miſſionaries into Ireland, who firſt delivered the divine word to the pagans of this country, did not fail, as uſual, to inſpire into the hearts

hearts of their converts, the moſt profound veneration poſſible for this great ſolemnity, calling it according to the practice of the oriental and occidental churches by the name of PASCHA, which word was always retained by the Chaldeans, the Greeks and the Latins, to ſignify that auguſt feſtival.

It is not to be doubted but theſe preachers and their ſucceſſors were ſcrupulouſly zealous in teaching the Iriſh converts the true orthography and pronunciation of this word paſcha, yet they never did receive that word into their language, but rejected and threw off the initial P, and took another character of a quite different organ, that is to ſay C, ſo as to ſound *caiſc* and *caſca*, *caſga* in the oblique inflexions; though it is well known to any perſon ſkilled in the Iriſh language, that *paſca* and *paſga* or *paiſg*, or even the change of P into B, ſo as to ſound it *baiſg* or *baſga*, are as agreeable to the Iriſh pronunciation as it now is in its extraordinary change. A character of ſo different an organ, as is the palate from the lips, would make us incline to think, that the letter P not being uſed at all by the pagan Iriſh, the miſſionaries adopted C as a character moſt frequently uſed amongſt them, and conſequently the firſt preachers of Chriſtianity in Ireland, found their pagan diſciples in poſſeſſion of this letter C, as well as of the other letters neceſſary for expreſſing their language articulately.

It is a certain truth, that the Iriſh had at all times in their language, the ſame organic ſounds which are now appropriated to the Latin characters, together with other organic powers of ſpeech, not to be found

found in the Latin tongue, for which conſequently the Romans had no characters, though ſome of them are to be met with in the Greek and other European dialects; but ſince they laid aſide their own ancient characters, and adopted the Roman alphabet, they ſtill retained ſuch a veneration for their old letters, as never to admit any of the Roman characters, which were not found in their primitive alphabet, even when they wrote Latin words, wherein ſuch characters were uſed at all times.

Thus in all words begun or ended by X, inſtead of writing that ſimple character, they never choſe to repreſent it, otherwiſe than by employing two of the Roman characters, viz. *gs* or *cs*, a trouble they certainly might have ſaved themſelves, at leaſt in writing the Latin, had they not rejected it as an exotic character, and not exiſting in their *ancient alphabet*; if this was not the true motive, I candidly acknowledge, the caſe ſeems to me a paradox; for if the Iriſh had no letters before the introduction of the Latin alphabet, what could be their motive conſtantly to reject ſome ſimple characters, and ſubſtitute two different letters in their ſtead, eſpecially in writing a foreign tongue, to which all ſuch characters were equally proper and fitting; and if *all* letters were equally new and exotic to them, certainly *all* had an equal right to be preſerved by them? Yet did they admit X as a numeral.

This is not the only inſtance I find of the ſame economy being practiſed by the Iriſh writers of ancient times, for when occaſion offered of writing v conſonant ſo natural to the Latin, they always rejected

rejected this character, and ſubſtituted in its place *bh* or *mh*, and more anciently *b* or *m*, with a point or daſh, to determine the ſound and value of the Latin v conſonant; their reaſon muſt undoubtedly have been, either that that ſimple character v was never uſed in their own alphabet, or elſe, that the Iriſh language had no ſuch ſound as v conſonant in their dialect, which is ſo far from being the caſe, that it occurs not more frequently in the Latin, or any other living or dead language whatſoever; inſomuch that it can, and does actually take place in all words beginning with either B or M, in order to form the inflexions, and is eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the ſkilful reader, to whom the affixing a point or daſh, as was ſometimes practiſed by the ancients, will be unneceſſary, and much more ſo, the adjoining of the aſpirate H, ſo as to make it *bh* or *mh*, by which theſe ſtrong labial elements are metamorphoſed into aſpirated, or whiſtling characters, if I may uſe the expreſſion, after the example of the learned Deſbroſſes, in his ingenious work on the mechanical formation of languages.

Now as this conduct of the firſt Iriſh converts, with regard to certain letters of the Latin alphabet, ſeems directly oppoſite to all good economy, whereas by receiving a few more of them, eſpecially the v conſonant, would have ſpared them expence of time and labour and vellum, objects not unworthy their care, ſo their conſtancy in adhering to ſo injudicious a practice, affords almoſt a proof and argument in favour of the prejudices of their former education and letters, whereof they intended

to

to leave us clear veſtiges, even on its very ruins (*g*). This quality of preſerving old cuſtoms and uſages is ſo innate of old, in Iriſhmen, that no nation can pretend to it with more juſtice, innovation being at all times diametrically oppoſite to their genius.

If the old Iriſh had no letters, no alphabet of their own faſhion, with a peculiar manner of employing them, for expreſſing the organic ſounds of their language, and for preſerving the original ſtructure of their words, an art wherein all true orthography conſiſts, it is apparent from the very nature of things, that they could never have thought of uſing the labial letter M with the aſpirate H ſubjoined to it, to render the ſound of the Latin v conſonant.

At a time when all the languages of Europe were poliſhed and refined, ſo as to become new and perfect languages, happy for the literati, the Iriſh had neither reliſh or leiſure to think of ſuch a

(*g*) The learned antiquarian Thomas Hearne has ſelected a Roman inſcription, which clearly proves that we know not what power the ancient Romans gave to ſeveral letters.

Haud aliter atque apud Romanos B ſæpiſſime idem valebat quod V ut illis exploratiſſimum eſt qui in monumentis vetuſtis verſantur, inde certe in hac inſcriptione apud Fabrettum:

AGA THEMER
COIVGI BENE
BIBENTI QVE VI
XIT ANN XXXII D XXVIII.

bibenti nihil aliud ſignificat quam viventi, quamvis correctio immediate ſequens VIXIT dubium relinquere videatur, an de bibace, an de ſobrie et parce vitam agente intelligi debeat. See this learned antiquarian on more examples of this kind in his preface to Guil. Neubrigenſis Chronica. And here we muſt obſerve that *bibeo* is the Celtic root of the Latin *vivo*.

reform, ſo as to loſe the radical words and orthography. In the reign of Elizabeth, or at moſt in the time of Hen. VIII. the Iriſh, like all other languages of Europe, began to take a new dreſs; but no ſooner was this attempted by the natives, than the Engliſh reformers took ſteps to extirpate its traces in Ireland, which has been the chief reaſon of its retaining its Celtic purity and orthography; the Iriſh at that time being bent in oppoſition to preſerve it, had no leiſure to continue that refinement, which would probably have diſguiſed its radical Celtic ſtructure, ſo as to be ſuch as we ſee the Welſh dialect at this day.

This proceeding of the Engliſh reformers, far from being conformable to good ſenſe, and towards obtaining the intended purport and end of their deſigns, was in effect diametrically oppoſite to both. For in order to perſuade any people into a new opinion and a new form of worſhip, it revolts all reaſon, to think that the method of effecting it ſhould be exhorting them in a foreign language; for in that caſe, they muſt firſt have had the trouble of teaching them this new language, or wait until the people firſt rejected their own dialect, which was as elegant and as proper as the language of the reforming miniſters at that time, to expreſs all the thoughts of man's heart, and to convince the hearers of any truth whatſoever, in either a literary or a religious matter. And this blindneſs of the reformers with regard to their uniformly praying and preaching in Engliſh, has been aſcribed to a particular providence of God in favour of the Roman Catholic religion, and to the holy prayers and

and interceſſion of the Virgin Mary, as well as to that of St. Patrick and his fellow labourers in this country.

Now, as to the abſolute orders and command which, it is ſaid, had been impoſed on the primitive Iriſh converts, by their ſpiritual guides and ſuperiors, to lay aſide the uſe of their antient pagan characters; I am far from thinking it was altogether founded on the notion of ſome preachers of the goſpel, mentioned by the author of the Iriſh hiſtorical library after Verelius, by which they repreſented thoſe characters as if they had really been the hand writing of the Devil. This opinion certainly does not want for authority in the Iriſh antiquities, for in the Liber Lecanus it is expreſsly ſaid, in a very ancient piece of proſe ſpeaking of the literature of the *Danians* (who preceded the Mileſians by 200 years), that they compoſed *dans* or verſes, which were for that reaſon preſerved carefully, until ſuch time as the Chriſtian faith was preached in Ireland; but that they were then *dicurtach*, exterminated, becauſe they were the invention of the devil.

I ſhall give the text at large in its antique attire, and add thereto the reaſon of this ancient writers ſaying, " that it is manifeſt from hiſtory contained in theſe *dans* or poems, that they were of diabolical invention." *Ar cia tainic creidim ni ro dichurthe na dana ſin ar it maithe 7 ni dernai deaman maith—as follas aſſa febaib 7 as a naigedaib nan do deamhntib na ſidgaighe do Tuath d. danain.* From this ancient text it ſeems to follow that this Danian colony, which furniſhed druids, poets, harpers, and handicrafts of many profeſſions, whoſe names are recorded,

muſt have had ſome kind of characters to write theſe *dans* in, though I own it does not follow as a neceſſary conſequence, but a probable one; for as they contained the form of pagan worſhip, and were for this reaſon attributed to devils by the Chriſtian miſſionaries, ſo the great care theſe pagan druids had in preſerving them, muſt very naturally have led them on to find out certain characters, which might expreſs their meaning, in order to be read with more eaſe by the druidiſh prieſts, and delivered to the people with greater confidence and ſecurity; as no traces of theſe *dans* have been handed down to poſterity, probably they were exterminated ſoon after Chriſtianity.

It is evident, the author of the book of Lecan, who lived long after the epoch of Chriſtianity, had no ſort of view of doing honour to this colony of people, but was rather inclined to depreciate their real merit, ſo his aſcribing to them excellent verſes before the Chriſtian era in Ireland, is a pretty ſtrong proof, that the uſe of letters was well known before that time; for the text ſays, that *until the coming of the faith, theſe dans were not baniſhed by reaſon of their goodneſs*; it is impoſſible to conceive how theſe excellent verſes could be preſerved by the help of oral tradition only, to the time of St. Patrick's arrival; or how could the new converts deſtroy or extirpate them, unleſs they had been committed to writing.

The compilers of the *Liber Lecanus*, from whence this extract was made, were of the tribe of people called *Clan Firbiſſig* who were hereditary antiquarians, not of the tribe called I fiachrach Aidhne in the

the county of Galway, as I have ſomewhere read, whereof O Heney was chief lord, and O Shaghneſſey Dynaſt, but of the tribe of I fiachrach Muaidh, of which O Doude was chief; this I gather out of the Liber Lecanus, where it is often ſaid, that they derived under O Doude, whom they acknowledge as their lord and maſter. The reader muſt underſtand, that theſe antiquarians only tranſcribed their voluminous pieces of hiſtory and genealogy out of other writings, without the leaſt diſcernment or criticiſm, and in the dreſs wherein they found them recorded, inſomuch that the ſtyle uſed in relating facts near their own times, is as different from that made uſe of for recording the deeds of remote antiquity, as our modern Engliſh differs from that ſpoken in the days of Hen. IV. and V. in England.

This defect of critical examination in them, produces a double advantage to us, 1ſt, we have a view of the manners of the ancient Iriſh, 2d, we are fully inſtructed in the ſtyle and language. By the firſt, we are enabled to paſs a right judgment on thoſe ancient times; and thus when we find notions ſeriouſly delivered for truths, that are notoriouſly incompatible with the firſt principles of Chriſtianity, and are known to be the tenets of pagan perſuaſion, then no reaſonable cauſe of doubt remains for us to conclude, that ſuch writings are of pagan times.

This truth can be exemplified in a moſt ſtriking inſtance, from the Liber Lecanus, wherein the pagan ſyſtem of the *tranſmigration of ſouls* is gravely exhibited. Many authors affirm, that the doctrine of *metempſychoſis* firſt taught in Egypt, and thence introduced

introduced into Greece by Pythagoras, was by his diſciples communicated to the Italians, and not unknown in Gaul to the druids and pagan doctors. I have not met with any other paſſage in Iriſh antiquities, that evidently points out the metempſychoſis, as a known tenet of religious perſuaſion; although it is very probable, that not only this, but many other tenets belonging to pagan times, may be as yet found in the old Iriſh vellums, if duly examined by men of letters.

Whether Pythagoras was the firſt author of the doctrine of metempſychoſis in Greece, or not, and the firſt propagator of it in Italy, wherein he held his ſchool, called the Italic ſchool, it is aſſerted as an undoubted fact by many authors, that his doctrine was taught and underſtood in *Gaul*, and well known to the druids of that and the neighbouring countries.

In this book it is recorded, that no doubt can be raiſed concerning the poſtdiluvian invaſion of Ireland, ſince *Tuan* ſon of *Cairil*, who was born of the wife of *Murdoch Munding* aſſerted it; for he lived in *Keſair's* time in the form of a man; then for 300 years in the form of a deer; after for 200 years in the ſhape of a wild boar; then 300 years in the ſhape of a bird; and laſtly 100 years in the ſhape of a ſalmon; which being caught by a fiſherman, was made a preſent of to the queen of Ireland, on account of its rare beauty, and ſhe upon eating it immediately conceived and brought forth the famous *Tuan mae Cairil*, who related the truth of *Keſair's* expedition into Ireland, and alſo informed

informed them of the invaſions of the *Firbolgs* and *Danians*.

From this quotation and literal tranſlation two conſequences may be drawn; firſt, that the Iriſh did anciently believe the tranſmigration of ſouls from one being into another, they ſtill retaining the powers of reminiſcence and knowledge, during all the different times of their infuſion into thoſe bodies; ſecondly, that the writer of ſuch a piece was truly a *pagan*, and as a neceſſary corollary, that the Iriſh pagans knew letters and writing.

Thus *Phythagoras* pretended he knew and remembered in what bodies his ſoul reſided, before he was ſtiled Pythagoras; firſt, he was *Cethalidus*, the ſuppoſed ſon of Mercury; next, he became *Euphorbus*, who was ſlain by Menelaus at the ſiege of Troy; afterwards, he was *Hermotimus*; then he became a fiſherman of Delos by name *Pyrrhus*; and at laſt he became *Pythagoras*; and he alſo affirmed, that he well remembered all theſe different tranſmigrations; that he ſuffered in Hell, and ſaw others ſuffer likewiſe. Let it be remembered, that this man, by the clear light of reaſon, diſcovered that uſeful demonſtration, of the ſquare of the hypothenuſe being equal to the ſum of the two ſquares, &c. &c. which proved as uſeful in mathematical ſolutions, as it was agreeable to this great philoſopher.

AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

FIRST INHABITANTS

OF

IRELAND.

IT is the opinion of many learned Iriſhmen, that ſome colony of the oriental people, who worſhipped Belus, or Baal as the Chaldæans expreſs it, gave its firſt inhabitants to this iſland. In all probability they were no other than the indigenæ of the Land of Promiſe, the CHANAANITES; who having been diſpoſſeſſed by Joſhua, and the people of Iſrael, made vaſt emigrations into the iſlands of the Mediterranean ſea, and planted themſelves not only in thoſe iſlands, but alſo on the maritime coaſts and regions of that ſea.

Inſtead of Chanaanites they then took the name of *Phenicians*, not from their dwelling at *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and the country near the *Red Sea* Φοινικος, or by alluſion to the traffick of purple garments, or from the palm trees Φοινικες as different etymologiſts will have it; but rather from the Phenician word

BEN-ANAK,

BEN-ANAK, the children or tribe of ANAK, the Anakites being the principal tribe of the whole, agreeable to the Iriſh tribes Mac-Mahon, Mac-Carthy, &c. Although it muſt be owned, that the emergency of their affairs, had firſt compelled the Phenicians to engage in naval expeditions, they however derived great advantages from that neceſſity. They excelled all nations of the Univerſe in ſailing and traffick, and made uſeful diſcoveries of iſlands in the European ſeas, the Mediteranean, in Egypt, Greece, Spain, &c. before then uninhabited.

Ben-Anak, literally means the ſons of giants or heroes, which is certainly the ſignification the Iriſh gave the word FENE and FEINE; hence to this day FEINEAG or FEINIG is uſed in old records and ſongs to denote a champion, a hero, or a giant. The author of a learned work on the primitive elements of languages blames the great Bochart, for not having underſtood the word Phenicians, to be of the ſame import with the Chaldæan word Chanaanite, for as Chanaanite ſignified a merchant or negotiant in that language, from the Chaldæan radix *Chanaan*, a merchant, ſo doth *Phenician* mean the ſame thing in Greek, ſays this author, for PEN and PHEN means money, traffick, uſury, thus PHENINIM doth alſo denote riches, or jewels, and FÆNUS in latin is uſury. He means to ſtrengthen his opinion, by ſaying, that thoſe of Syria and Paleſtine were the firſt merchants. The Iſmaelites trafficked in ſpices and perfumes in the times of the patriarch Jacob, that is, after the year of the creation 2300. All this would as directly prove that

that the Iſmaelites in particular, and the other trading people of Syria, ſhould be called Chanaanites, with as much propriety as the people of Chanaan. He oppoſes the ſame learned author's opinion, that the Phenicians abandoned their old name of Chanaanites, on account of the infamy they were ſubject to, through the curſe pronounced againſt their progenitor Chanaan; the reaſon he gives for this correction is as inſufficient as the above, witneſs, ſays he, the Chanaanean women mentioned in Matthew xv and xxii, who came from the environs of Tyre and Sidon. This proves nothing; for the evangeliſts without doubt mentioned her extraction from Chanaanites, as they had been accuſed by God, and particular orders given by him for their utter extirpation, that ſo the office of our redeemer may be more conſpicuous, while he deſpiſed not the afflicted offspring of an accurſed people; ſo that this is not the language of a Phenician writer, but of a Chriſtian evangeliſt. Some interpreters think, ſhe was called Chanaanean from a town ſituated in Phenicia, bordering on the lands allotted to the tribe of Aſer, which was called CANA, whereof there is alſo mention made in Joſhua, ch. xix, where it is expreſly ſaid, that the boundaries of the tribe of Aſer were ABRAN, ROHOB, HAMON and CANA, unto the great SIDON. If this interpretation be true, his argument becomes void; St. Mark calls this woman a SYROPHENICIAN, either becauſe the Syrians at different periods incorporated with the Phenicians, or elſe to diſtinguiſh them from the Carthaginians, who were ſometimes called Libyophenicians.

The

The word ANAK which means a giant or hero, ſeems to be the radix of the Greek anax, genitive anaxtos, the uſual term for a king; the ſeptuagint interpreters tranſlate MELECH and MELCHI, a king, into anax, anakta, or anacta; this however was not its true and proper meaning, it firſt imported a ſaviour or defender, and as this was the true office of a ſovereign, and the motive for creating him was to defend and protect a people or kindred from deſtruction or oppreſſion, ſo it was not unnatural it ſhould become the firſt appellative of a king. Homer calls Agamemnon and others by this name; Jupiter is ſtiled anax of gods and men; nevertheleſs the inferior gods are ſtiled anaktes to ſignify defenders or ſaviours. Aſty-anax was a title the Trojans gave Scamandrius the ſon of Hector, which according to Homer's interpretation, meant a defender of the city. See Iliad, vi. 399. Now the Iriſh word ANAC or ANAIK, means *ſave, defend*; thus we ſay *anaic ſinn a Thiarna, ſave, protect us, O Lord*; *anacal* means protection, alſo the ſafe-guard of a prince, and *anac-clan*, ſometimes written *eneaclan*, is the term in the Brehon laws, for the tribute paid by the clan or tribe, to the chief, for his protection.

The obſcure traditional accounts preſerved in the old Iriſh manuſcripts, and renewed by Keating and others, that the anceſtors of the firſt inhabitants of Ireland, firſt ſettled in Crete and other iſlands of the Mediterranean ſea, as alſo in Egypt, Greece, Spain, &c. do apparently point out to the reader, the ſtate and progreſs of the *Phenicians*, after their expulſion under the conduct of Cadmus,

who

who built Thebes, and poſſeſſed a great part of Greece, together with the iſlands of the Ægean ſea. They alſo ſhow us the conqueſts of that other Phenician general Hercules, who built Carthage, ſettled in Spain, and erected the pillars of his name at the entrance of the ſtreights of Gibraltar.

Beſides theſe general obſcure remarks, we have ſpecial and plain reaſons to think, the Phenicians were the firſt inhabitants of Ireland. The moſt ancient Iriſh dialect is called BEARLA NA FEINE, or BESCNA NA FENE, which means the dialect of the Fenians, the tongue of the Fenians. The inventor of their letters and one of the moſt ancient progenitors of the Iriſh, cotemporary, as it is ſuppoſed, with NIMBROD or BELUS, is called PHENIUSA FARSA, which is nothing more than Phenician Farſa, or Farſa the Phenician. The word Pheine, Fene, and Feine, is indeed more like to the word PŒNI which meant the Carthaginians, and denoted nothing leſs than Phenicians, than it is to Phenicians; and as that was the term the Carthaginians affected to be called by, in order to preſerve the generical name of their firſt progenitors; ſo it may be conjectured, that the Iriſh preſerved the ſame term to denote their firſt progenitors the Carthaginians or Phenians. It is certain, the truth cannot be ſo well ſupported on the part of the Iriſh, they were too diſtantly ſituated from each other, and the time of their ſeparation too remote to be obſerved but in an obſcure manner; whereas the contiguous ſituation of Tyre and Carthage, made the renewal of their friendſhip no way difficult; in effect, we find a ſtrict and inviolable union to have always ſubſiſted

ſubſiſted between the Phenicians and Carthaginians. Herodotus tells us, that when Cambyſes meant to wage war with the Carthaginians, he was forced to deſiſt from that undertaking, by reaſon of a firm declaration made by his choſen Phenician ſoldiers, that they would not fight againſt their countrymen; again, we read that when Tyre was beſieged by Alexander the Great, the Carthaginians received the wives and children of the Tyrians into their city, with the tenderneſs of the moſt affectionate parents; we alſo read, that the great Annibal, after being obliged to fly from his ungrateful country, and on his way to Antiochus king of Syria, he was received with open arms in Tyre, and all honours due to a general of his great reputation, cordially paid him.

The huge piles of ſtones, erected from time immemorial, in ſeveral parts of Ireland, with immenſe coverings, raiſed in due order, are doubtleſs of pagan and remote times, and paſs with ſome for druidical altars, have the generical name of LEABA NA FEINE to this very day; theſe words plainly ſignify the beds of the Pheni or Carthaginians; the Iriſh warriors of ancient times are called FEINE or FEING, and FEINIG at this day ſignifies, for that reaſon, any brave warlike man.

In the inveſtigation of the true origin of any country, great attention is always due to the argument that ſhows it received its firſt name, from another ancient people, or from their language, eſpecially when other probable arguments are produced to ſtrengthen the ſame opinion. The firſt and moſt ancient name of Ireland known to foreigners,

foreigners, and avowed by the natives was HIBERNIA and IERNE. Now the word Hibernia in the Phenician tongue, ſignifies WESTERN ISLAND, being compounded of HIBER, which implies weſtern, and of NAE an iſland; a very proper name indeed for Ireland, as it is the moſt weſtern iſland of the European ſeas. This name was ſo highly eſteemed by the writers of old Iriſh chronicles, that in deſcribing the martial exploits of their principal warriors and princes, they affected greatly to compliment theſe, with the title of champions of the weſtern iſle, or princes of the weſtern iſland of Europe; thus CURAIDHE OILEAIN IARTHAIR, and OILEAN IARTHARACH NA HEOIRPE, are honourable terms we meet with in every page of the old vellum writings. As to the ſecond name of Ireland, its etymon can be traced in the Iriſh dialect, without the help of the Phenician or any other tongue, although it be identically the ſame with the ſignification aſſigned to Hibernia; it is a complex of the Iriſh prepoſition *iar* or *ier* which means *after*, *behind*, and conſequently the *weſt*, according to the oriental and Iriſh manner, beginning at the eaſt in front, as *iar ſin* after that; IAR MUMHAN weſt Munſter, and NAOI or AOI an iſland, as aoi Choluim, the iſland of Columba; ſo as to mean weſtern iſland. It muſt be obſerved, that N ſerves often in Iriſh for an expletive letter, in order to render the ſound more harmonious, and to avoid a hiatus, which is frequently obſerved in the Greek and Latin; thus we add N to the words, OR gold, AIRGID ſilver, ATHAR father, by ſaying go nor agus go nairgid, with gold and with ſilver; ar nathair, our

our father, &c. &c. I am inclined to think, that N was only an expletive element in the Phenician NAE an iſland, eſpecially as the Hebrew word AE is an iſland, for N is often inſerted as an expletive in the beginning, middle, and end of Hebrew words; thus SCHALNEI tranquil, in the plural, from SCHALAH to be tranquil; and to PHACAD he has viſited, they add N twice, and ſay NIPHCADNOU we have been viſited, and NIPHCADTHEN you have been viſited, &c. &c.

In fact, the cuſtoms of the oriental nations, ſo exactly followed here in primitive times and ſtill continued, are plauſible proofs that ſome emigrating colony of theſe people muſt have ſettled in Ireland, which, without doubt, can be no other than the offspring of the Phenicians, ſettled by Tyrian Hercules in Spain. I propoſe to enlarge hereafter on theſe cuſtoms and manners of the people of Ireland, in a diſtinct eſſay, and ſhall now only notice a few which are in vogue amongſt us, as alſo with them, ſo that the reader may be enabled to judge how far they may be depended upon; and if I ſhould hereafter make it appear, that the names of the different iſlands of the Mediterranean, as well as the countries bordering on that ſea, which had been occupied by the Phenician emigrators, were originally, if not identically, of the ſame literal ſignification and force in the Iberno-Celtic or Iriſh language, with the very firſt names given thoſe countries by the Phenicians, under the command of Cadmus and Hercules; I am convinced this circumſtance will incline the reader to believe, that the firſt inhabitants of Ireland were a

tribe

tribe of the ſame Phenician people; and this I am enabled to do, from Gale's Hiſtorical and Mythological Remarks on the Gentiles, particularly where he treats of the Phenicians.

The Iriſh call the month of May Bel-tine, or fire of Belus, and the firſt day of May la Bel-tine, or the day of Belus's fire; they call the eve of the firſt of November oidche Shamhna (corruptly pronounced ee owna) or the eve of Samen, which was the Carthaginian name of the Sun. Mr. Lhwyd ſays, he copied an old Iriſh gloſſary, where it was mentioned, that the Iriſh druids were uſed to light two ſolemn fires in every year, through which all four-footed beaſts were driven, as a preſervative againſt contagious diſtempers. Mr. Martin in his hiſtory of the weſtern iſles of Scotland, which were peopled by the ancient Iriſh, obſerves, they had a deity named Belus or Belinus, which ſeems to have been the Aſſyrian God Bel, and probably from this pagan deity comes the Scots term of Beltin, the firſt day of May, having its firſt riſe from the cuſtom practiſed by the druids in theſe iſles, of extinguiſhing all the fires in the pariſh until the tythes were paid, and upon payment of them, the fires were kindled in each family, and never till then. In thoſe days, continues the author, malefactors were burnt between two fires; hence, when they would expreſs a man to be in a great ſtraight, they ſay *he is between two fires of Bel*, which in their language they expreſs thus, edir dha thinne Bheal, p. 105.

The Iriſh ſtill preſerve this cuſtom, for the fire is to this day lighted in the milking yards; the men,

men, women and children, for the ſame reaſon paſs through or leap over the ſacred fires, and the cattle are driven through the flames of the burning ſtraw, on the firſt of May. In ſome parts, as the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, the brides, married ſince the laſt May-day, are compelled to furniſh the young people with a ball covered with gold lace and another covered with ſilver lace, finely adorned with ſilver taſſils; the price of theſe ſometimes amounts to two guineas; theſe balls, the ſymbols of the Sun and Moon, are ſuſpended in a hoop ornamented with flowers, which hoop repreſents the circular path of Belus or the Sun; and in this manner, they walk in proceſſion from houſe to houſe. On the eve of St. John another bonfire is lighted univerſally through the kingdom; on this night every family extinguiſhes the fire, which muſt be relighted from the bonfire; a lighted ſtick is alſo thrown with ſolemnity into the cabbage garden, to cauſe the roots to grow, and the young people run through one another with lighted ſticks in their hands. This is not a pagan cuſtom, but handed down from the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity on the Continent; for though the council of Elvira aboliſhed the cuſtom of moſt of the pagan fires, which had continued ſome centuries after Chriſtianity; the illumination of the eve of St. John the Baptiſt ſtill continued, the tradition of which is coeval with the prediction he made of Jeſus Chriſt; which fire St. Bernard notices to his fraternity, was become ſo univerſally practiſed in his time, that it was even obſerved amongſt the Saracens and Turks. See Homil. in feſt. Ioan. Bapt.

Some Mountains in Ulſter ſtill bear the name of Bel-tine; but in the ſouthern part of the kingdom the name more frequently occurs. At the foot of Knocmaoldown mountain, near Clogheen in co. of Tipperary, is Logh Bheal or Belus's Lake; on the Moanmhullagh mountains, not far diſtant from this lake, is Barn na Bheal a mullach, i. e. the Gap of Belus on the ſummit; the uſual ſalutation of the common people was *Bal de dhuit*, the God Belus to you; the meaning of which not being underſtood by the preſent race, they now ſay *Bal o Dhia dhuit*, which they interpret thus, a mark from God to you; bal ſignifying a ſpot or blemiſh, a very improper term for a ſalutation; this is peculiar to the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny.

The month of May was indeed the moſt proper ſeaſon of the year to acknowledge the beneficent favours of Belus or the Sun; as the month of November was, to acknowledge their gratitude to the ſame deity; becauſe in May, that great planet begins to beautify the face of the earth, to nouriſh its decayed plants and vegetables, and to put life and warmth into its animal beings; and in November the harveſt and the vintage is gathered into the barn. Hence of all created objects, that planet deſerved moſt to be noticed and loved by rational ſublunary beings, becauſe its benign influence produced them health of body, and an acceptable proſpect of nouriſhment. And hence it was, without doubt, that almoſt every pagan nation adored this beautiful planet as the parent of nature, under different names and appellations; a religion, which as Mr. Young obſerves in his *Revelation*, p. 35, took

took its riſe in Chaldea, was ſoon carried into Egypt, and from thence to Greece; it ſpread itſelf alſo to the moſt diſtant parts of the world, and infected not only the eaſtern and the weſtern Scythians and Tartars, but the Mexicans too, for the Spaniards found it there. (See Gage's new Survey of the Weſt Indies, ch. 12.) Even the deſcendants of Shem, whoſe poſterity preſerved the memory of the true God for a longer time than thoſe of Ham or Japhet, at length transferred their homage to the Sun and Moon. (Photius ex Cteſia. Q. Curt. l. 8. c. 9. Philoſt. l. 3. ch. 35.)

The ancient practice of adoring the Sun by the ſymbol of fire, was firſt introduced in the world by *Nimbrod*, otherwiſe called *Baal* or *Belus*, which in the Hebrew, Syriac and Phenician, literally meant lord, or maſter. Belus is juſtly conſidered by the learned to be the firſt who withdrew a conſiderable number of people, employed by him in building Babylon, from the true worſhip of God to the ſpurious adoration of the Sun by fire. This idolatrous mode of worſhip ſoon overſpread the earth, the Chanaanites or Phenicians obſerved it in the ſame manner with the pagan Iriſh. We read in the fourth book of Kings, that they ſerved Baal, and religiouſly paſſed their ſons and daughters through his fire, in which they were imitated by the idolatrous Iſraelites. We alſo read in the ſame book, that Achar king of Iſrael is blamed for having religiouſly paſſed his ſon through the ſacred pagan fire; and it may be inferred from the ſaid paſſage that many Iſraelitiſh kings provoked God, by the ſame idolatrous practice.

The appellative of Nembrod given alſo to Belus, which according to Iſidorous literally ſignifies tyrant (Nembrod tyrannum ſignificat. Etym. l. 17) can moré naturally and more conformably to ancient mythology, be inveſtigated and cleared up in the Iriſh language. It is a complex of *nem* heaven, and *brod* captivity, inſomuch that both words joined together by way of attribute to Belus grandſon of Cham, plainly ſignify captivator of heaven, or *Cæli captivator*, or *Cælorum expugnator*. The Greek and Latin poets who deſcribe the war of the giants againſt the gods, uſe no ſtronger expreſſion to paint the inſolence of the former, than *Cælos expugnare volebant*. Homer in his firſt Iliad introduces Venus, who reminds Jupiter of her ſervices, by having delivered him from his captivity and chains, through her influence on the giant Briareus. Beſides this argument, it further appears from the joint authority of ſeveral learned commentators on the firſt book of Geneſis, that Belus had not the epithet Nembrod or Nimbrod given him, until the time of his impious undertaking in building the tower, which brought down upon him and his accomplices the immediate vengeance of God, not only by the total demoliſhment of that edifice, but alſo by a multiplication of the firſt language into ſeveral dialects, that were all underſtood by the three ſons of Noah. (Iſidor. loco ſupra citato.) Now if we conſider Belus after this injurious undertaking, and his ſeduction of ſo many thouſand people into idolatry and rebellion againſt God, we will readily conclude, he was the only perſon living, that moſt deſerved

deſerved the attribute of Nembrod or Heaven-Captivator.

If the Phenicians came from Spain to Ireland, it is probable they firſt planted themſelves in the ſouthern parts of the iſland; accordingly I find ſome plauſible reaſons to think their chief ſettlement muſt have been in a large diſtrict of the county of Cork, which comprehends the entire barony of Fermoy and the half barony of Condons. This diſtrict was anciently called MAGH-FEINE, literally meaning the plains of the Phenians, PHÆNIO-MAGUS; the inhabitants were always called FEARA MAIGH FEINE, afterwards the word Pheine was left out, as making the name too tedious, and only a part of the compound preſerved by the moderns, who to this day call it FEARA-MAIGH, in Engliſh FERMOY.

The Liber Lecanus calls the inhabitants FIR MAGH FEINE; the author or compiler of the annals of Innisfallen, at the year of Chriſt 254, mentions that Fiacha Muillethan, provincial king of Munſter, beſtowed this country called Magh-Feine to the celebrated druid Mogruth; but the author of the Ulſter book, in the Liber Lecanus, is more exact; he mentions that in conſideration of this druid's advice and influence over Cormac ſon of Con of the hundred battles, to give hoſtages to Fiacha Muillethan, after Cormac's ſignal defeat at the battle of Dun Claire, the Momonian prince gave him and his poſterity for ever, the lands called Magh mac Neirce, which was afterwards called Dal-Mogruith, and formed only a part of Magh-Feine; it runs thus in verſe:

Do

Do breat doſom iar tiactin; as ſin cath do bach Saor dilſe Muighe mic Neircaoi; do is dachloin co brath.

He granted him after the return out of the field of battle the freehold property of Magh mac Nerce, for him and his race perpetually.

Beſides the affinity, or rather ſimilarity of names, there are ſtill to be diſcovered in the ſame diſtrict, other plain monuments of Chanaanitic or Phenician faſhion, ſuch as are deſcribed by Dom Calmet in his learned comments on the pentateuch; I mean, large pillars of rude ſtone perpendicularly erected either ſeparately, or joined with others in ſquares and circles, whereof ſome are placed as ſupporters to flat ſtones of a ſurprizing magnitude, either in an inclined or horizontal poſition. The Chanaanitic altars which the people of God were commanded to demoliſh, ſeem to have been of this kind of ſtructure. (Deut. 7. 5. Exod. 23, 24.) It is indeed remarkable, that on the ſummit of many high places round the country of MAGH-PHEINE, we find heaps of ſtones joined together, with a huge ſtone on the top as a plat-form, whereon, it is probable, the builders immolated their victims, and lighted their ſacred fires in honour of Belus. Theſe without doubt were of the ſame nature with the high places of the children of Chanaan or the Phenicians, who communicated the uſe of them to the rebellious Jews, for which they are ſo frequently and ſo ſeverely reprimanded by Almighty God.

The moſt remarkable monument of Phenician taſte in this part of the iſland, is to be ſeen on the road leading from Fermoy to Glanworth, ſituated in

in a plain or even country. Smith in his hiſtory of the county of Cork, vol. 2. p. 409, has given a very imperfect drawing and deſcription of this work; he ſays it is called by the country people Laba-cally or Hag's bed, that the people ſay it belonged to a gianteſs; and he concludes with his opinion, that it is the tomb of one of the ancient kings of Fermoy, and was erected in the ages of Chriſtianity; this laſt wiſe conjecture, he acknowledges, ariſes from its lying *eaſt* and *weſt*.

The ingenious and learned antiquary, governor Pownal, has favoured us with an accurate drawing and deſcription of another Phenician monument or ſepulchral taphos, at New-Grange near Drogheda, and of the Phenician inſcription on one of the ſtones. See Archæolog. Soc. Antiq. Lond. vol. 2.

If the Tyrian Hercules, or any of the principal deſcendants of the Phenician colony he brought with him to Spain and the European iſles, were leaders of the firſt people that inhabited this iſland; the ſolemn worſhip and ſacrifices performed by them, may have been very agreeable to the pure patriarchal religion. And as Tyre, whereof Hercules was founder according to Herodotus, is mentioned in ſcripture as a well fortified city in Joſhua's time; and it ſeems alſo probable, that all the Chanaanites had not as yet fallen into idolatry, but that many of them ſtill worſhipped the true God; ſo we may conclude, that Hercules may poſſibly have been a worſhipper of the true God, as well as Abimelech king of Gerar and his ſubjects, who were alſo Chanaaneans or Phenicians. The purity of our Phenician's worſhip gains more

advantage,

advantage, if we allow him to have been cotemporary with Abraham, Iſaac, or Jacob, as Dr. Stukeley pretends; or as the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory affirm, ſaying, that Tyrian Hercules flouriſhed long before the Jewiſh Law publiſhed by Moſes. (See Stukeley on Stonehenge. Un. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 313. note T.)

But though the worſhip of God was adulterated, and even idolatry ſubſtituted in its room, nevertheleſs it is certain, the ſolemnity and exterior mode of ſacrifice might ſtill have been retained pure and conformable to the patriarchal religion.

I cannot cloſe this ſhort eſſay better than with the following remarks. No woman's name is more common in Ireland, among the old natives, than that which was Dido's proper Punic or Phenician name, according to Solinus and others; I mean ELISSA, a word which the old Iriſh, according to the genius of their language, have contracted into ELIS, as they have the maſculine name DARIUS into DAIRE. The names of the three great rivers SEANNON, SUIR and NOIR, are alſo of oriental radix; Seanan, or as it is now pronounced Shannon, means literally the old river or water; in Arabic, *ſan* is old, ætas, and *ain* a fountain, ſpring, or ſource, fons. *Suir* was an eaſtern name, *ad fluvium Sur* Bochart Phal. c. 8. *Noir* from *Nahr* fluvius. Idem.

Bela Punice et Arabice *Vortex* quo naves abſorbentur. Hence *Bela-fearſad* now Belfaſt, a dangerous harbour in the north of Ireland; *farſut*, Syriace Oſtium, the mouth of a haven; ſo alſo the ſtrand in Cork harbour near Roſtillon, opening to Middleton river, was anciently called *bela-fearſad*; hence

hence the north and ſouth *bulls* of the bay of Dublin, &c. &c.

In a future number, I will produce ſuch proofs and veſtiges of an Iberian or Spaniſh colony anciently ſettled in Ireland, as may be reaſonably preſumed of ſome weight, in the eyes of an impartial reader, to ſupport the old tradition of our bards and antiquarians on that head, in conjunction with, and in confirmation of Mr. Lhwyd's argument on the ſame ſubject. Some of theſe veſtiges of a Spaniſh colony in Ireland, have been already touched on by other writers, ſuch as Mr. Cambden, who thinks to find the *Lucenſii* and *Concani* of Spain, in the *Luceni* and *Congani*, which Ptolemy places in the ſouth-weſt of Ireland, facing Spain. The marks and veſtiges I have to offer, appear more plain, more natural, and more ſtriking.

F I N I S.

Speedily will be Publiſhed,

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TO

CHARLES COOTE, D. D.

DEAN OF KILFENORA:

THIS

SIXTH NUMBER

OF THE

COLLECTANEA

DE

REBUS HIBERNICIS

IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT

AND HUMBLE SERVANT,

E. L.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

STUDY

OF

IRISH ANTIQUITIES.

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G

AN

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NATIONAL antiquities have always engaged the attention of every learned and poliſhed people. The inquiries of (*a*) Pſammitichus into the original language, whatever truth may be in the anecdote, ſhows that ſuch diſquiſitions were not unuſual in former times, nor in the flouriſhing periods of antient empires.

Queſtions involving national honour naturally raiſe the flame of patriotiſm in every breaſt, and produce conteſts between kingdoms concerning their antiquities. Intemperate zeal led to the fabrication of fictitious annals, and the wild (*b*) deluſions of romantic hiſtory. Theſe exceſſes created a

 contempt

(*a*) Herod. Euterp.

(*b*) Ἀρκάδες οἱ καὶ πρόσθε Σεληναίης νδεονται. Apollon. Argon. lib. 4. is an early inſtance of what is alledged. To which may be added, what is ſaid of the Athenian Autochthonoi in Pauſanias, Corinth. pag. 110. edit. Sylburgii. Much more, to the ſame purpoſe, might be produced.

contempt of the learning, the cuſtoms and manners of remote times. When civilization was perfected, and ſound knowledge and juſt criticiſm enabled mankind to form proper diſcriminations, reaſon ſoon recovered her equilibrium; a calm review of theſe ſubjects ſucceeded, and the progreſs of mankind from barbariſm to civility, through all the ſubordinate details of the arts and ſciences, became, as it ever will be, the object of manly and rational inveſtigation; and as a favourite ſtudy, which it is at this day, found univerſal countenance and encouragement.

It was the love of glory and of his country, traits the moſt conſpicuous in the character of king Henry VIII. that dictated to him the appointment of (*c*) Leland to the office of Royal Antiquary. The conſequence was happily deciſive, in collecting a (*d*) body of men of real learning, and preſerving from impending deſtruction, innumerable and valuable literary monuments. Much more might have been done, did not an undefined ſyſtem of government, the pride of feudal grandeur, the intruſions of popular importance and religious heats, diſturb the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and her ſucceſſors: theſe recited groundleſs jealouſies of their ſubjects, and made them apprehend (*e*) danger from the examination of a worm-eaten miſſal or a muſty charter. Theſe political terrors vaniſhed at the Revolution, but it was not before the acceſſion of the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick, that

(*c*) Biographia Britannica, article, Leland.
(*d*) Ibid. article, Agard.
(*e*) Ibid. article, Spelman.

that antiquities, with every uſeful and ornamental branch of knowledge, received regal patronage. It was in the reign of king George II. that the ſociety of antiquaries of London was incorporated.

To the animated exertions of individuals, and the munificent protection of a few noblemen and gentlemen, is England indebted for that great body of antient records and documents to be founnd in the Britiſh muſeum, and in the other public and private libraries of that kingdom. Unfortunately for Ireland, the ſame ſervice was not rendered to her by any of her ſons, except in a partial degree. A prey to the mercileſs ravages of the Oſtmen; plundered by the *(f)* Engliſh adventurers; convulſed and torn by domeſtic broils; ſhe ſhared every viciſſitude of human miſery, and preſerved ſmall remains of that piety and learning which made her the mart of literature and the admiration of Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries.

To retain the natives in their faith, the eccleſiaſtics, of the Romiſh profeſſion, collected and publiſhed the lives of their (*g*) ſaints and collateral hiſtorical pieces. In theſe, and in the ſubſequent defence of them, many points of national antiquities were diſcuſſed and aſcertained. Manuſcripts were ſearched for and carefully examined, copies of them multiplied, and a foundation was laid for the elegant

(*f*) See Giraldus Cambrenſis, Expug. lib. 2 cap. 35. who ſpeaks of the actions of his countrymen, with indignant warmth.

(*g*) Religion of the antient Iriſh by primate Uſher, in the epiſtle.

elegant ſuperſtructure reared by Sir James Ware. It is not eaſy to determine, whether he merits moſt praiſe for the perſpicuous diviſion of his work, or for the accuracy and extent with which he treats it. The whole evinces a natural turn for ſuch ſtudies, and an eminent diſplay of abilities and erudition.

Yet ſtill it muſt be conſidered as an infant undertaking, and very far from exhauſting the various topics it comprehends. Neither the genius or induſtry of any one man is adequate to the thorough elucidation of the antiquities of a country; the additions to Cambden and Ware prove this. The talents of mankind are ſo different, and ſucceſs is ſo likely to attend that purſuit to which nature prompts, that we are ſure of information and entertainment, where ingenuity and erudition unite in handling a ſingle ſubject. To encourage ſuch exertions, and to collect the ſcattered rays of ſcience, ſocieties have been formed throughout Europe. Ireland has had her phyſico-hiſtorical and antiquarian ſocieties: under the auſpices of the firſt, the hiſtories of the counties of Down, Waterford, Cork and Kerry have appeared; and under that of the latter, the excellent productions of lieutenant colonel Charles Vallancey. Theſe bloſſoms gave enlivening hopes, but a fatal languor has hitherto blaſted the faireſt fruit of Iriſh literature; it is as yet a ſtranger to the cheering beams of public or private protection. While every nation of Europe is poliſhing its antiquities, and making new diſcoveries, Ireland abounding in learned men and in curioſities of every kind, remains to the naturaliſt and antiquarian a terra incognita, a region

region unexplored. A few ſparks of patriotic ardour are alone wanting to ſhow its latent treaſures, and elevate it to a rank it has always juſtly claimed, but never enjoyed. Undiſmayed by this retroſpect, the gentlemen aſſociated in the preſent work are happy in contemplating a taſte and ſpirit now prevalent, very different from thoſe of former ages. They obſerve with what avidity the foreign antiquarian reſearches are read; nor can they pay their countrymen ſo ill a compliment, or betray ſuch diffidence of themſelves, as to imagine, that their labours will be paſſed over with indifference or neglect.

As it has fallen to the lot of the writer to vindicate the ſtudies of his brethren, and to addreſs the public on this occaſion, he humbly begs their indulgence to the following pages, deſigned to ſhow what has and may be done towards the illuſtration of Iriſh antiquities; and which, for greater clearneſs, are thrown under diſtinct titles.

BREHON LAWS.

Barred from every intercourſe with the natives by the moſt penal ſtatutes, the Engliſh knew but little of their juriſprudence and municipal regulations; every mention of their laws is, conſequently, in terms of deteſtation. As forfeitures were no part of the Brehonic inſtitutes, the Engliſh, who were conſtantly enriching themſelves by the delinquencies of the natives, without doubt, reprobated a ſyſtem ſo unfavourable to their ſchemes, and without minutely examining, pronounced it a lewd cuſtom.

cuſtom. The notices concerning it, in our writers, are few and general. Campion, whoſe work appeared in 1570, tells us: (*h*) "Other lawyers the Iriſh have, liable to certain families, which, after the cuſtom of the country, determine and judge cauſes. Theſe conſider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours; be it murder, or felony, or treſpaſs, all is redeemed by compoſition. The Breighoon, ſo they call this kind of lawyer, ſitteth him down on a bank, the lords and gentlemen at variance round him." To this Stanihurſt, writing in 1584, adds, (*i*) "That they are intirely unacquainted with the Engliſh, the canon and civil laws: that their determinations are founded on no ſolid rules, but on precedents ſanctified by time and uſage, and that theſe are kept profound ſecrets, whereby they acquire admiration and preſerve their influence." (*k*) Sir James Ware, in 1654, allows them ſome ſkill in the canon and civil law, and confirms what is ſaid of their decrees being

(*h*) Pag. 19.

(*i*) Utuntur ad tales lites æſtimandas quibuſdam arbitris, quos illi Brehonios appellant. Iſti ſunt ex una familia profeminati, intelligentiam juris Britannici non habent, civilis etiam ac pontificalis imperitiſſimi. Retinent ſolummodo domeſtica pſephiſmata, uſu & diuturnitate corroborata, quorum animadverſione, artem aliquam ex rebus fictis commentitiiſque conflatam pepererunt, quam nullo modo divulgari patiuntur, ſed ſibimetipſis, veluti abſtruſa atque abdita myſteria a communi hominum ſenſu remotiſſima, eam reſervant. Atque ob vanam hanc reconditæ cognitionis opinionem, eorum nomen ab imperita plebicula (quæ citius oſtentatione quam vera ſimplicitate capitur) valde celebratur. Pag. 37. See what is ſaid of the Brehon O'Briſlan, Collectanea, No. II. pag. 159.

(*k*) Ex præſcriptis et conſuetudinibus quibuſdam Hibernicis ſe dirigebant. Antiq. cap. 8. pag. 42.

being conformable to national cuſtoms and preſcriptions. In another place this author ſays, *(l)* "I am informed there are, at this day extant, many volumes, in which the laws of ſome of the antient kings of Ireland, before the arrival of the Engliſh, are written in the Iriſh language. Theſe without doubt are very uſeful for the diſcovery of the form of government among the antient Iriſh, and deſerve a thorough ſearch." This with a few particulars more is all that thoſe writers knew, or thought proper to communicate of our civil polity; and how meagre an account it is, every one may eaſily judge. It was reſerved for the learned pen of colonel Vallancey to do juſtice to ſo curious and intereſting a ſubject. With a knowledge of the Iriſh language to which few have arrived, he was enabled to read, and was ſedulous in procuring the moſt antient MSS. Hence he has given ſuch a view of our legal inſtitutions in the third and fourth numbers of this Collectanea, as frees us from the charge of barbariſm, and our Brehons from that of ignorance; and he has proved by an extract of conſiderable length, that the latter conducted themſelves, in their juridical deciſions by rules, neither capricious, uncertain or oppreſſive.

We have only to lament, that other indiſpenſable avocations interrupted his labours, and deprived the public of larger ſpecimens of his erudition. However it will be ſome partial conſolation to inform them, that he has promiſed his aid to this

(l) Antiquities of Ireland, chap. 11. pag. 69.

this ſociety, and the world may expect to ſee ſome ſelect pieces from his rich ſtore. This favour, with that of permitting us to take the title of his work, muſt always claim our warmeſt acknowledgements.

DRUIDIC LITERATURE.

Mr. Whitaker, who has written admirably on many parts of Britiſh Antiquities, ſtudiouſly omits treating of the Druids, or their learning. That he conſidered it a barren or exhauſted ſubject, the following brief obſervations ſufficiently evidence. "All the various combinations, ſays (*m*) he, of the Noachidæ at Babel muſt have carried a regular alphabet away with them, to the places of their various diſperſions. This moſt of them afterwards forgot. The Gauls in particular, had aſſuredly loſt the uſe of their original alphabet, and in the days of Cæſar had adopted the Grecian from the neighbouring Greeks of Marſeilles. The Britons alſo had forgot the knowledge of their original characters, and in the days of Tiberius had borrowed the Roman alphabet from the neighbouring Romans of Gaul. We find the moſt northerly ſtates of Caledonia, a little after the victories of Veſpaſian and the conqueſts of Agricola, poſſeſt of an alphabet, and the celebrated Oſſian, in the third century, making uſe of the Roman characters for his poems. From the ſhore of Caledonia letters

(*m*) Hiſtory of Manchester, book 1. chap. 19. pag. 371. 372. of the edition in quarto.

letters muſt have been ſoon wafted over into Ireland. A continual intercourſe was maintained betwixt the inhabitants of the two countries; and Ireland muſt certainly have received an alphabet before the period which is conſtantly aſſigned for the introduction of it, even one or two centuries, at leaſt, before the days of St. Patrick. And the Corniſh, the Welſh, the Scotch and the Iriſh languages have, from that period to the preſent, invariably uſed the characters of the Romans in writing."

Our antiquarians endeavour, with unavailing pains, to prove, that the preſent Iriſh elements have not the leaſt reſemblance to the Greek or Roman: whereas it is manifeſt they are the corrupt latin letters of the ſixth century, as given in Bernard's 20th, 21ſt, and 22d tables improved by the learned Doctor Morton. So far Mr. Whitaker's aſſertion is indiſputable. The period of their introduction ſeems likewiſe accurately ſtated. We have the authority of (*n*) Cæſar for the Druids uſing the Greek letters in ſecular concerns. Five hundred and forty-three years before the chriſtian era, according to the Samaritan chronology, the Phocean colony arrived at Marſeilles. Grecian manners ſoon produced a wonderful change in the country and its inhabitants. The Gauls ſoon laid aſide their barbariſm, built cities and applied to agriculture:—ut non Græciam in Galliam emigraſſe, ſed Gallia in Græciam tranſlata videretur, ſays (*o*) Juſtin. Whether the Druids uſed the

(*n*) Lib. 6.
(*o*) Lib. 43. cap. 4. Cicer. pro Flacco.

the Greek language, or the letters alone, a point very much agitated among the (*p*) learned, we may allow them to be acquainted with the Greek alphabet at an early age.

But this knowledge of the Greek and Roman elements, by no means ſuperſeded or extinguiſhed the uſe of their more antient ones among the Druids: the latter were religiouſly preſerved, and carefully handed down from the remoteſt ages to a late period, and may be ranked among the alphabets of the Noachidæ hinted at by Mr. Whitaker. The diſcovery of theſe elements, after an oblivion of many centuries, is certainly the moſt curious, valuable and uſeful in the compaſs of modern literature; and is due to the ſagacity and perſeverance of an ingenious aſſociate. Private friendſhip, in this inſtance, has operated public advantage. Anxious to promote the ſucceſs of a work which the writer warmly eſpouſed, this learned man freely ſurrendered the fruits of his labour, and conſented to their publication; without anticipating that event, it may be proper to gratify the antiquarian with a few particulars.

He has given from manuſcripts, ſtone-croſſes, ſepulchral and monumental inſcriptions, all accurately noted and delineated, the Bobeloth letters, and ſhown their order, character, power and name. The latter he has decompoſed, and by the judicious uſe of etymology, diſcovered their eaſtern origination, and clearly pointed out the progreſs of letters

(*p*) Burton. Græc. ling. hiſt. pag. 19. and the authors cited by him. Selden. Janus, pag. 22.

letters from pictures to ſymbols. This Bobeloth was the vulgar character of the Druids, and ſavours of the earlieſt antiquity: but they had another character called Oghman, appropriated to their hierogrammatic writings; this has hitherto been eſteemed nothing but cyphers, or unmeaning flouriſhes; but he has confuted this notion from lettered remains. The utility of this diſcovery will be very extenſive, as it enables us to unfold antient knowledge wrapped up in unknown letters.

It is really ſurpriſing, that no one had turned his thoughts this way and enquired after Druidic learning, of which conſiderable ſpecimens are extant, particularly at New-Grange, in the county of Meath, and on the croſſes at Caſtledermot, in the county of Kildare. Ware does not ſo much as mention the Bobeloth, and of the (*q*) Ogham, he dryly ſays, the antients writ their ſecrets in it. Mr. O'Connor alſo paſſes it over; O'Flaherty and Harris remind us, that the Iriſh had a character called Bobeloth. (*r*) Colonel Vallancey, whoſe penetration nothing can eſcape, is more explicit and to the purpoſe. Indeed it cannot be thought ſtrange that writers prepoſſeſſed in favour of the antiquity and originality of the preſent Iriſh elements, ſhould not trouble themſelves in ſearching after others.

MODES

(*q*) Antiquit. cap. 2. p. 12.

(*r*) Grammar, pag. 2. "The Bethluiſnion was the antient order, and continued ſo to be till chriſtianity was thoroughly propagated in Ireland. This order was altered when the language began to be mixed in Greece." Remains of Japhet, pag. 404. How ignorant of the matter!

MODES OF INTERMENT.

The various modes of ſepulture practiſed by our anceſtors form a pleaſing and extenſive department in our antiquities. Sir James Ware has (*a*) treated it ſuperficially; but (*b*) Mr. Harris, with indefatigable induſtry, has made many valuable additions. The following remarks are given to excite attention, and as a ſpecimen of what hereafter may be executed on a larger ſcale.

First Epoch. Wormius has made a triple diviſion of the modes of interment; it is certainly not accurate, but whatever contributes to throw a confuſed ſubject into order has its uſe, and muſt elucidate it. Cremation he ſpeaks of firſt. Burning the body after death was univerſally prevalent in Europe in the earlieſt ages. It was (*c*) confeſſedly ſo in Ireland. There is a very conciſe, but objectionable, manner of accounting for this and other oriental cuſtoms, by ſaying they were introduced by Phenician colonies or Carthaginian traders. We can, in the preſent inſtance, recur to other and more ſatisfactory evidence.

Odin, the great legiſlator and deity of the northern nations, arrived in Europe, with his Aſiatic Goths, (*d*) twenty-four years before the chriſtian era; his

(*a*) Antiquit. cap. 32. pag. 348.
(*b*) Edition of Ware, pag. 140.
(*c*) Harris's Ware, ſupra. Pomp. Mela, &c.
(*d*) In cujus tempora incidit Odinus, Aſiaticæ immigrationis, factæ anno 24 ante natum Chriſtum, anteſignanus. Crymog. Arng. Jon. lib. 1. cap. 4.

his laws reſpecting funeral ſolemnities, here follow: (*e*) The bodies of the dead with their goods are to be burnt, and the people admoniſhed, that the Gods will receive thoſe ſacrifices with more diſtinguiſhed favour, in proportion to their value and quantity. Great tumuli or barrows are to be raiſed over chiefs, and large ſtones to be ſet up for thoſe who performed illuſtrious actions. His own body was burnt, and with it much gold and ſilver. (*f*) Odin's country was Georgia on the confines of Perſia, where the Sabean inſtitutes, ſtill preſerved by the Brachmans, were in uſe; ſome of the principal of their tenets were the adoration of the ſun, the burning of their children and their dead.

The celebrity of this leader, deified by his countrymen, the actions and conqueſts of his heroic Aſæ, and the beſtowing the alphabetic elements on a rude people, were motives ſufficient to excite admiration and eſtabliſh his laws. They were adopted in part of Germany, in Sweden, Denmark and Norway, and muſt have ſoon found their way to the Britiſh iſles, where numerous veſtiges of cremation ſtill remain. This hypotheſis is not deſtitute of authority. Yet we may with confidence aſcend higher, and ſay, that Sabeiſm was

(*e*) Ille Wodenus, legem de mortuis, una cum eorum bonis comburendis tulit, monuitque, ut eo magis honorificè a Diis acciperentur, quo plura bona comburerentur. Mandavit etiam, ut optimatibus magnos tumulos in memoriam erigerent, atque ut eorum ſepulchris, qui egregia patraſſent, magnos lapides ſuperponerent. Woden Sigtuni obiit, magnoque honore, cum multo auro et argento, crematus eſt. Meſſen. ex chron. antiq. Suegothico. Sturlæſon to the ſame Purpoſe.

(*f*) Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, diſſ. 1.

was predominant in the Eaſt ſo nearly as the days of Abraham, and was carried by the primeval coloniſts of Europe to their various ſettlements; it is therefore no groundleſs conjecture to derive (*g*) many Druidic uſages from this ſource; they are plainly of eaſtern origination, let their tranſit into the weſtern world be ſettled as it may. Our Cromleac, oaken groves, upright ſtones and coped carns refer to oriental ſuperſtition; nor would the writer have heſitated to ſay the ſame of our Round Towers in the enſuing diſſertation, was there any proof of our acquaintance with architecture in the ages antecedent to thoſe aſſigned for their erection. Odin might then have done no more than give a new ſanction to practices long before introduced.

In Wormius's age of cremation, the body reduced to aſhes was placed in an urn and laid in the earth, over which a (*h*) conical mound was raiſed, juſt ſufficient to indicate what was under it. The urn is always of baked clay, and the mouldings round the rim often ſhow both taſte and deſign. Whatever we may conceive of the barbariſm of thoſe ages, they were by no means ſo rude and ignorant as is generally imagined; we have (*i*) claſſical authority that the Celts uſed earthen diſhes at their tables, and pottery ſeems to have been well underſtood. Ware, Harris, Molyneux and Smith give numberleſs inſtances of cremation among us, and others daily occur.

SECOND

(*g*) Warton, ſupra.

(*h*) Rudiores ex ſola terra in rotunditatem & conum congeſta. Worm. Monum. Danic.

(*i*) Strab. lib. 4. 155. Athen. Diepnoſop. lib. 4. cap. 12.

Second Epoch. This Wormius calls the age of hillocks; when grander and more laboured ſepulchres were formed, of conſiderable (*k*) height and ſurrounded with rows of ſtones. If the laws of Odin were obſerved, the practices of the firſt and ſecond epochas were the ſame. Wormius grounds the diſtinction on the bodies being conſigned to the earth whole in the latter, which had it been regular, made a material difference; but ſkeletons and urns full of burnt bones are frequently found in the ſame cemetery, which proves the impoſſibility of defining the duration of a cuſtom, when it is fluctuating and about to give way to a new one. The time when burning was exchanged for burying in Ireland, was, according to our hiſtorians, in the reign of Eochadh, fourteen years before Chriſt. There is reaſon to believe, cremation was not diſuſed for many years after, as Pomponius Mela, who lived in the firſt century of Chriſtianity, tell us the Druids uſed both modes of interment. So that probably not before the full eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion in this iſle did cremation intirely ceaſe. It was again revived during the domination of the Oſtmen here, in the ninth and tenth centuries, who were then pagans. On account of this laſt circumſtance, it is no eaſy matter to aſcertain the date of thoſe monuments.

(*k*) Arenam et terram exaggerando uſque dum in juſtam monticuli inſurgerent altitudinem.—Etiam tumulos ipſos tam in apice quam circa baſim viſendæ magnitudinis cinxere ſaxis—Secunda ætas, qua cadavera integra et non cremata cum ſuis ornamentis in circulo ex grandioribus confecta ſaxis, locabant. Worm. ſupra.

The old oriental cuſtom becoming unfaſhionable in this ſecond epoch, a new ſtyle in the conſtruction of ſepulchres and diſpoſing of the body, began. While cremation continued, an elegant campaniform hollow artificially made in the earth, as the barrows at Stonehenge are, and covered by a light tumulus, ſeemed a ſuitable receptacle for an urn and its cineritious contents. This was the idea of the Romans, as appears by their (*l*) Columbaria. Vaſt coacervations of clay and ſtones were eſteemed proper and graceful for the new mode. The tombs of the greateſt leaders at firſt were humble, but in proceſs of time, ſays (*m*) Wormius, more labour was beſtowed on them.

The ſplendour of perſonal valour, of great exploits and extenſive conqueſts, will ever give a brilliancy to the memory of illuſtrious princes, and create a profound veneration for them. Odin gave the names of his twelve (*n*) deified companions to his children, to perpetuate this ſupernatural reſpect. From theſe the northern kings (*o*) traced their pedigree. Divine honours were paid to them, and the places of their interment became places of worſhip. The monſtrous obeliſks, that compoſe the tomb of Harold Hyledetand at Leire in Seland, have an altar-ſtone under which he lies, and on which the people annually performed

(*l*) Viaggiana, pag. 113.

(*m*) Ætatis progreſſu, plus operæ in magnatum tumulis poſitum videtur. Supra.

(*n*) Sturlæſon.

(*o*) De quo (Wodeno) omnium fere barbarorum gentium regium genus lineam trahit. Guil. Malmeſb.

performed (*p*) ſacrifices. Wormius, Mr. Pennant, the Compte de Caylus, and every other intelligent writer, allow theſe ſtone circles to be ſepulchral, and that they certainly are ſepulchral appears from a human body being found under each upright ſtone, in ſome circles lately opened in Connaught. So that after all that has been written on Stonehenge, it may be the ſepulture of Hengiſt and the Anglo-Saxon chiefs; the firſt being buried under the altar, and the others under the trilithons.

Theſe ſtone circles thus dedicated to religious uſes, their application to other ſolemn purpoſes eaſily followed. Here kings were elected and inaugurated, and courts of juſtice and ſingle combats were held. We had formerly in our (*q*) churches, plays, feaſts, courts-leet and muſters, and at preſent our kings are anointed there, all remains of ancient uſages. As thoſe pyramidal and perpendicular pillars (*r*) had epitaphs expreſſing the name and rank of the deceaſed, ſo Chriſtians imitated ſuch examples by their grave-ſtones and tombs. Wormius, the two Magni, Saxo Grammaticus, and the northern writers, conſtantly and

 invariably

(*p*) Quotannis ſacra peragantur. Worm. in the Lararium, the Romans preſerved the aſhes and pictures of their anceſtors with their houſhold Gods. Sed quum a prima origine intra ſuas quiſque ædes defoſſa cadavera haberent, unde Lares in ſingulis ædibus colendi religio perſuaſit, in Lararío, in quo præter deorum penatium, etiam inſignium virorum quas venerarentur, effictas imagines habebant. Alex. ab. Alexand. lib. 6.

(*q*) Canons of the church of Ireland, A. D. 1634. Canon 92.

(*r*) Grandes cippos patriis literis notatos impoſuerunt. Worm.

invariably refer to thoſe lettered monuments for the determination of many important points in their hiſtory and antiquities, and with great juſtice; for our antient ſtone croſſes, which are the earlieſt ſubſtitutes for the heathen upright ſtones, contain many curious, authentic, yet hitherto unnoticed memorials. So that credit is due to what Cambden reports, of a tin plate, inſcribed with letters, being found at Stonehenge; as alſo to what Speed mentions, of an engravement in Daniſh characters exiſting on great ſtones at Exmore in Devon. Did antiquarians, at home and abroad, carefully examine thoſe ſtone circles, ſomething worth the labour might be diſcovered.

The rule given by Wormius, (*s*) of generals and chiefs being buried within a ſingle, double or triple row of pillars may be partly true: but we know they were alſo erected as monuments of victories, and he gives inſtances of this in his work ſo often quoted.

The carn as well as the ſtone pillar came from the eaſt, and Rowlands, Harris and others are right in aſſerting it. Some are ſurrounded at the baſe with circles of ſtones, and ſome round the top; others have a circlet of ſmaller carns on the ſummit of larger ones. As they did not require ſo much of exertion as of perſeverance, ſtones every where abounding, there are a great number and variety of them. Theſe piles, ſays Mr. Pennant,

(*s*) Ex iis qui una vel multiplici ſaxorum ſerie circa baſim cinguntur exercituum imperatoribus, aliiſque magnatibus dicati creduntur. Worm.

nant, may juſtly be ſuppoſed to have been proportioned in ſize to the rank of the perſon, or to his popularity; the people of a whole diſtrict aſſembled to ſhew their reſpect to the deceaſed, and by an active honouring of his memory, ſoon accumulated heaps, equal to thoſe that aſtoniſh us at this day. Many of them have altars, all of them were places of worſhip. In theſe too, inſcriptions have been found; witneſs that valuable one at New-Grange, *ſoon* to be laid before the public.

As ſtone circles and carns diſtinguiſhed this ſecond epoch, ſo did high mounts; theſe the (*t*) Danes raiſed over their kings and heroes, when ſtones were not convenient. The earlieſt of theſe mentioned in our hiſtory, are thoſe of (*u*) Eogan and Fræchus, on the plains of Moglene, in the King's County, A. D. 180. The tradition concerning them is ſo uninterrupted, that it would be worth while to have them opened; their contents might furniſh matter of curioſity and uſe.

Third Epoch; was that of Chriſtianity; when the body was incloſed in a ſarcophagus or wooden coffin and interred.

MONASTICON

(*t*) Sciendum autem, quod Dani propter defectum ſaxorum pyramides ac obeliſcos extrucre minime potuerint, in memoriam regum et heroum ſuorum ex terra coacervata ingentem molem, montis inſtar, eminentem erigere ſolebant. Lindebrog. Comm.

(*u*) Extant adhuc eo loci duo colles, quorum alter Eugenii, alter Fræchi Hiſpani, ibidem occiſi, corpus ſepultum traditur contexiſſe. O'Flah. Ogyg. pag. 316.

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM.

In a country where the clergy were as numerous as (s) all the other claſſes of men, and thoſe for the moſt part Monks, an account of their orders and their various eſtabliſhments includes no ſmall ſhare of the general hiſtory of the nation. About the middle of the fourth century Monachiſm was introduced into Italy, and quickly ſpread through the Weſt. The (t) biographers of St. Patrick tell us, he learned monaſtic diſcipline under Martin biſhop of Tours; a prelate who had no leſs than two (u) thouſand Monks in a monaſtery contiguous to his cathedral. Our apoſtle ſtudied this faſhionable profeſſion for many years among the Italian aſcetics, and his predilection for it was conſpicuous when he formed the Iriſh church. In ſucceeding centuries theſe foundations multiplied amazingly, ſo that at the reformation, there were five hundred and twenty-nine monaſteries and nunneries in this kingdom.

The Monaſticon Hibernicum, the writings of Ware, Allemande and others, are too ſhort to give ſatisfaction on ſo ample a ſubject. Doctor King archbiſhop of Dublin, who knew the value of it, did not think it beneath his attention to make large (w) compilations from original records for

(s) Nicolſon's Iriſh Hiſt. Library, pref. pag. 14.
(t) Apud Uſher. Primord. cap. 16.
(u) Sulp. Sever. Epiſt ad Baſſul.
(w) They are now in the library of the Dublin Society.

for its further illuſtration; and Sir James Ware has left a large volume of inquiſitions, reciting the grants and poſſeſſions of the principal abbies, taken from the public offices. The collecting and digeſting theſe documents, and procuring other materials have employed for ſome years, the leiſure hours of a reverend clergyman and an aſſociate. An extraordinary ſkill in our antiquities, and an eminence in every branch of polite learning, recommended him to the patronage of his late excellent dioceſan, doctor Pococke, ſucceſſively biſhop of Oſſory and of Meath: than whom a better judge of merit, or a more generous protector of it, our hierarchy has not produced.

Sir William Dugdale and Mr. Dodſworth acquired immortal fame by the Engliſh Monaſticon. The civil, military and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Britain, has derived as biſhop Nicolſon remarks, vaſt advantages from it: ſcarce a family of any antiquity or property but find themſelves intereſted in it. The ſame would be the caſe in Ireland, did public ſpirit encourage a ſimilar undertaking. Both the Britiſh and Iriſh libraries ſupply abundant matter. All that can be offered, under the preſent circumſtances, are ſhort annals and extracts from charters, which will form part of this Collectanea.

In 1753, doctor Thomas Burke, late titular biſhop of Oſſory, was appointed hiſtoriographer of the Dominican order in Ireland, and in 1762, he produced his

HIBERNIA DOMINICANA:

Sive Hiſtoria Provinciæ Hiberniæ Ordinis Prædicatorum, ex antiquis manuſcriptis, probatis auctoribus, literis originalibus nunquam antehac impreſſis, inſtrumentis authenticis et archivis, aliiſque invictæ fidei monumentis deprompta. In qua, nedum omnia, quæ ad memoratam attinent provinciam, et Cænobia ejus, tam intra quam extra regnum Hiberniæ conſtituta (interjectis ſingulorum fundatorum genealogiis) atque alumnos ipſius, ſeu dignitate epiſcopali, ſeu munere provinciali, ſeu librorum vulgatione, ſeu martyrio, publicave virtutis opinione claros, ſuccincte diſtincteque exhibentur. Sed etiam plura regulares generatim ſumptos, clerumque ſæcularem, necnon et res civiles Hiberniæ, atque etiam Magnæ Britanniæ ſpectantia, ſparſim appoſiteque, adjectis inſuper notis opportunis, inſeruntur, et in perſpicuo ordine collocantur.

After ſo large a title-page it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that it bears marks of conſiderable learning and induſtry. It was printed in Kilkenny under his own inſpection, though the title mentions Cologn in Germany; in 1772, he publiſhed an appendix to this work. The particular notice taken of this book is, to recommend it as a pattern for other religious communities to imitate; and as one eaſy and obvious mean towards perfecting our Monaſticon. Were the original charters and deſcriptions of the abbies, (ſome of them beautiful and well preſerved) given, his work had been complete.

complete. As the firſt edition has been long ſince ſold off, and the book become very ſcarce, an abridgement of it, freed from extraneous matter, will form the ſubject of ſome future number.

ARCHITECTURE.

The buildings of the antient Iriſh were the ſame as thoſe of the uncivilized people; conſiſting of materials the ſlighteſt and the eaſieſt to be procured. Sir James Ware and his followers have fully ſtated this evidence, and there dropt the ſubject, leaving an impreſſion upon the reader, as if there were no other ſtructures in Ireland but ſtraw-built cottages. This among other things has countenanced that idea of barbariſm, ſo conſtantly inculcated in books of geography and travels; and is, in reality, as glaring a falſhood as any to be found in ſuch injudicious, flimſy and wretched productions. It is certainly not amiſs to recur to the earlieſt uſages of nations, but why ſtop there? Is it not as pleaſing an inveſtigation, to trace the progreſs of knowledge from its ſimpleſt exertions to its moſt refined energies? The different ſtages of architecture mark, in deciſive characters, the ſtate of civility: nor is there one topic, in the antiquities of a kingdom, productive of more elegant entertainment, or more uſeful information.

In the enſuing diſſertation, the ſtyle of our antient habitations, and the dawnings of its improvement are given from apparently indiſputable authority.

thority. As it was intended there to proceed but to a certain period, the further proſecution of the ſubject is reſerved to a tract—*On the civil, military and eccleſiaſtical architecture of the Iriſh, from the earlieſt ages*—which will ſoon appear in a ſubſequent number of the Collectanea, illuſtrated with drawings; in that tract will be an account of our buildings without cement; our monaſtic cells and cryptical receſſes; our ſtone-roofed churches; as Cormac's at Caſhel, St. Doulagh's, Glendaloch, Saul abbey and Portaferry. Specimens of every variety of the Gothic ſtyle will be exhibited, and many particulars relative to our civil and military ſtructures collected. The writer alſo introduces, as collateral to the foregoing, the hiſtory of our Stone-Croſſes, and an inquiry, whether our antient churches reſembled the Greek temples. A paradox is alſo ſolved, of a nation warmly cultivating the arts and ſciences, and yet neglecting architecture: which was the caſe of Ireland in certain ages. This will be followed by the—*hiſtory and antiquities of Glendaloch, and its Seven Churches, in the county of Wicklow*;—wherein many of the facts and obſervations, in the preceding treatiſes, will be further elucidated and confirmed.

The knowledge of perſpective and a taſte for drawing, ſo generally diffuſed at preſent, have reſcued many unheeded and mouldered objects from total decay, and enriched every collection with beautiful ſpecimens of our antient buildings.

ECCLE-

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

A connected hiſtory of the introduction and propagation of Chriſtianity in this iſland, is a deſideratum long complained of, yet no attempt has been made to ſupply the defect. The ſixteenth and ſeventeenth chapters of archbiſhop Uſher's antiquities of the Britiſh churches, and his diſcourſe on the religion of the antient Iriſh, are the only things to be found in our eccleſiaſtical bibliotheque deſerving notice on this head. Of the firſt our prelate ſpeaks with truth and modeſty, and candidly (*x*) confeſſes his inſerting much frivolous, doubtful and ſome falſe matter; ſhowing at the ſame time, that ſome advantages may ariſe from each of theſe. His diſcourſe is extremely valuable, but far from being complete. The abbé Ma Geoghagan's pompous performance is a tiſſue of incredible fictions and legendary tales, with ſcarce an inſtance of judgment or ſelection.

It is peculiarly unfortunate for Ireland, that ſhe who illuminated the weſtern hemiſphere with the radiance of divine truths, and is therefore repreſented by Aldhelm, in the year 690, as a (*y*) paradiſe

(*x*) In noſtra autem hæc ex omni ſcriptorum genere promiſcue congeſta farragine, &c. Præfat. ad Antiquit. Britan. Eccles.

(*y*) Quamvis enim prædictum Hiberniæ rus, diſcentium opulans vernanſque (ut ita dixerim) paſcuoſa numeroſitate lectorum, quemadmodum poli cardines aſtriferis micantium ornentur vibraminibus ſiderum. Aldhel. epiſt. ad Eahfrid. apud Uſher. Syllog. pag. 40.

radiſe or new lacteal circle brightened by innumerable ſtars of learning, ſhould want a native writer to record her celebrity in thoſe times, and do juſtice to the purity of her faith. It is a work of labour, but full of curioſity and inſtruction: ſuch a work we are happy in announcing to be already finiſhed by an aſſociate, under the title of—*Anecdotes of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory: or a view of the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of Ireland, from the fifth to the thirteenth century.*

Until this compoſition can conveniently appear in the Collectanea, the following extract will give ſome idea of its execution.

"Joceline informs us, that St. Patrick ordained three hundred and fifty biſhops for the Iriſh church: Nennius ſays, three hundred and ſixty-five. The appointment of ſuch a number hath hitherto been eſteemed abſolutely falſe, or inexplicable; becauſe writers too frequently take their notions from what they ſee, without being at the pains to examine antient uſages. Thus biſhop Lloyd (*z*) imagines, that beſides thirty biſhops which St. Patrick conſecrated for the principal ſees, he made as many ſuffragans as there were rural deaneries, ſuppoſing each to contain eight or nine pariſh churches. But there is no more connexion between rural deaneries and our antient ſees, than there is between the (*a*) days of the year, and St. Patrick's biſhops. (*b*) O'Halloran

(*z*) On church government, pag. 92.

(*a*) It ſeems, ſays the writer laſt cited, that when the authors of thoſe times were ſet upon the pin of multiplying, they uſed to ſay, that things were as many as the days of the year. Hence Nennius makes them 365.

(*b*) Introduction to the hiſtory of Ireland.

loran thinks our apoſtle might ordain ninety-ſix biſhops, and as many of theſe might have died during his long life, and ſo many ſucceeded in their room, as completed the number above.

All this is mere conjecture: the ſolution of the difficulty ariſes from conſidering the ſtate and practices of the early chriſtian church. From Clemens Romanus we learn, that in his time, the epiſcopal order was very numerous; every (*c*) city, village, and region had a biſhop; many cities had two and ſome more. Thus, (*d*) Alexander and Narciſſus were biſhops of Jeruſalem together; Paulinus and Miletus of Antioch; Theodoſius and Agapetus of Synada, and Valerius and Auguſtine of Hippo. The cuſtom for a city to have but one biſhop, was firſt begun in Alexandria, as Epiphanius remarks. So much had the chorepiſcopi or village-biſhops increaſed, that it became neceſſary to reſtrain their nnmber, which was done in the Laodicean council, A. D. 367, and before in the Antiochean.

In the fourth century, St. Baſil writes to Amphilochius, biſhop of Iconium, that he did not approve of his multiplying biſhops, as thereby the dignity went into contempt: it would be better, adds he, to chooſe ſome man worthy a biſhoprick, who might take prieſts to his aſſiſtance, than divide a ſmall

(*c*) Κατα χωρὰς καὶ πωλοῖς, Epiſt. ad Corinth. Salmas. de Primatu. Burchard. lib. 1. cap. 125. Doctor Hammond ſays, χώρα, ſignifies a province. Vindication of epiſcopacy, pag. 134, and from that infers they were not ſo numerous: but it will be ſeen from the nature of the epiſcopal office, and the cuſtom of the oriental church, that his concluſion is not juſt.

(*d*) Euſeb. Socrat. and Poſidon. vit. Anguſt. cap. 8.

a ſmall diſtrict into many ſees. Theſe oriental practices were cloſely followed by St. Patrick. It is not inſiſted on, that the number he is ſaid to have ordained, is accurate, but great as it is, it will not appear incredible.

By the fifty-eighth Neo-Cæſarean canon, made in A. D. 315, the adminiſtration of the ſacraments were in a great meaſure confined to the biſhops and chorepiſcopi; and in (*e*) Tertullian it is expreſsly declared, that preſbyters had not the liberty of baptizing without the biſhop's permiſſion; or of preaching in ſome churches, as Socrates aſſures us. Leo, in his ninety-ſecond epiſtle, deſires Maximus, biſhop of Antioch, to hinder monks and laymen from preaching which was ſolely the biſhop's office. In England, by the third of archbiſhop Cuthbert's canons in A. D. 747, the biſhop is enjoined to viſit his pariſh once a year, and preach the word of God which it *rarely* hears. Theſe laſt words refer as well to the paucity of clergymen then, as to the reſtriction of this duty to the biſhop. Similar canons may be found in the legatine council of Cealchythe, in A. D. 785, and in Odo's, in A. D. 943.

The great offices of religion being thus confined to the biſhops and their ſuffragans, and that by the diſcipline of the eaſtern and weſtern churches; we cannot be ſurpriſed at their increaſe, or at the number

(*e*) Dandi baptiſmum jus habet ſummus ſacerdos, qui est epiſcopus, dein preſbyteri & diaconi, non tamen ſine epiſcopi authoritate. De baptiſmo, cap. 17. And much earlier Ignatius: Μήδοι χωρὶς ἐπισκοπῦ τι πρασσέτω. Epiſt. ad Smyrn. See the ſeventh conſtitution of the council of Seville, A. D. 619, which is full to theſe points.

number ordained by St. Patrick: the *(f)* eſtabliſhment and extenſion of Chriſtianity depended on it.

Another inſtance of the orientaliſm of our church, and corroborative of what is advanced, is the power exerciſed by our prelates and primates in ordaining biſhops and erecting ſees. By the canons of the African code, collected in A. D. 419, metropolitans and primates were inveſted with ſuch power. St. Bernard, in his life of Malachy archbiſhop of Armagh, complains: "that biſhops multiplied according to the will of the metropolitan; that one ſee was not contented with one biſhop, but almoſt every church had a ſeparate one." Lanfranc to the ſame purpoſe *(g)* ſays, "in villages and towns were many biſhops, and as *(h)* Anſelm adds, made without a title, or aſſignment of any particular place." Here was another fruitful ſource for multiplying the epiſcopal order. Ordination without a title was common in the eaſt, and was prohibited by the Antiochean, Ancyran and other canons."

MISCELLANEOUS.

It would much exceed the limits of this eſſay, to enumerate the various heads of Iriſh antiquities, which will receive illuſtration in the courſe of this work. Coins, inſcriptions and ſepulchral monuments

(f) The learned Mr. Johnſon (Clergyman's Vade Mecum, vol. 2. pag. 188) is very much puzzled at an expreſſion of Aurelius, biſhop of Carthage, who ſays:—We have frequently and almoſt every Sunday, biſhops to be ordained—but the explanation is now given.

(g) Epiſt. ad Tirdelvac. Apud Uſher, Syllog.

(h) Epiſt. ad Muriardach. Uſher, ſupra.

ments will not be forgotten; nor the learning, cuſtoms and mannners of the natives in every age. As a ſpecimen of the latter, the writer begs leave to offer the following miſcellaneous obſervations.

Greek Language. Virgil, our countryman, was one of eight (*i*) Iriſh biſhops, who undertook, agreeable to the devotion of the times, a journey to the Holy-land. In France he was appointed to a ſee, by pope Stephen and king Pepin. The latter detained him in his family for two years, to profit by his uncommon erudition and piety. He was afterwards promoted to the biſhoprick of Saltzburg, by Otilo, duke of Bavaria, wherein he remained to the time of his death in the year 785. We are told he concealed his rank for ſome time, and had with him a biſhop, named Dobdan, a Greek, who followed him from Ireland. I ſhould wonder, ſays Uſher, at a Grecian's going from Ireland, did I not know, that at Trim in Meath is a church called the Greek church, at this day, A.D. 1632. The learned primate has thrown no further light on this matter, but it will not appear extraordinary when we conſider, that (*k*) Johannes Scotus Erigena, ſome years after, gave the cleareſt demonſtration of his proficiency in this language by his tranſlation of Dionyſius Areopagita, which he dedicated to Charles the Bald, king of France.

If it be aſked, where Johannes acquired this knowledge, the letter of Anaſtaſius concerning this tranſlation

(*i*) Uſher. Syllog. pag. 131.

(*k*) Poſſemus etiam his addere virum longe doctiſſimum, Johannem Erigenam Scotum, id eſt, Hibernigenam e Scotiâ ortum hoc enim nomine celebris olim Hibernia. Burton. Hiſt. Grec. ling. pag. 53.

tranſlation ſupplies the moſt unequivocal proof that it was in Ireland. It is wonderful, ſays this (*l*) author, with all the affectation of Italian politeneſs, how a barbarian placed in the end of the world, and removed from the converſation of the learned and the knowlcdge of the Greek tongue, could underſtand ſuch things, or tranſlate them into another language! Theſe diſreſpectful expreſſions ſhow him ignorant of the ſtate of letters beyond the bounds of Rome, and betray an illiberal mind, unworthy the librarian of the Roman church. He complains that he adhered too cloſe to the original, and thereby rendered a difficult ſubject more unintelligible. To our Johannes we are alſo indebted for a valuable tract of about fifty pages in octavo—De differentiis et ſocietatibus Græci Latinique verbi—extracted from a larger work of (*m*) Macrobius, and collected for his own private inſtruction. He treats largely of the Greek tenſes of defective verbs and the forms of words, and his grammatical ſkill in both tongues is very conſpicuous. He (*n*) omits many things advanced by Macrobius without ſufficient authority, and inſerts others upon better.

This inſtance of Johannes will juſtify us in ſaying, that had time and war ſpared our lettered monuments, this iſle alone would have redeemed the reputation of thoſe ages now denominated dark

(*l*) Uſher, ſupra, pag. 65.

(*m*) Explicit defloriatio de libro Ambroſii Macrobii Theodoſii, quam Johannes carpſerat ad diſcendas Græcorum verborum regulas. Macrob. Oper. pag. 579. Edit. Pontani, 1597. Uſh. Syllog. pag. 135.

(*n*) Multa nos prætermiſiſſe perſpexerit.—Quædam tamen inſeruimus, quæ nobis ex proportione aliorum veriſimilia fieri viſa ſunt. pag. 582.

and obſcure. Inſtead of the paltry and diſgraceful ſpecimens of our literature given by Colgan and others, we ſhould then behold works of real genius and conſummate learning, of profound philoſophy and correct criticiſm.

BROGUES WORN WITH HAY IN THEM. At this day the practice is univerſal for the natives to have their brogues ſtuffed with hay or ſtraw without being able to aſſign any reaſon for the cuſtom: the following is offered both as curious and ſatisfactory. Linnæus tells (*o*) us, the Laplanders through their long and cold winters keep abroad with their herds of Rhen-deer; that they never experience kibes, or other effects of intenſe froſts, by means of this precaution. In ſummer they cut and dry the ſlender-eared, broad-leaved cyperus graſs, carex veſicaria; this they comb and rub in their hands, and then places it in their ſhoes ſo as to cover their feet and legs; their ſhoes are made of the ſkin of the Rhen-deer, the hairy part turned inward; they have no ſtockings, their breeches are of the ſame ſkin and come down to their ankles. This graſs keeps off the cold in winter, and in ſummer prevents the effects of perſpiration.

In like manner, an (*p*) eye-witneſs informs us, that the Engliſh, when they ſettled in America, uſed the baſtard calamus aromaticus to keep their feet warm. The antient brogue was made of raw, or half-tanned leather, of one intire piece, and gathered round the foot by a thong; ſuch an one was found in the year 1770, at Aghaboe, in a bog ſeven

(*o*) Apud Stillingfleet's tracts, pag. 138.
(*p*) Joſſelyn's New England rarities, pag. 53.

ſeven feet below the ſurface. The ſole being thin, the ſtuffing prevented injury from ſtones or ſtumps of trees, beſides keeping the foot warm; but that it ſhould be uſed now, when the ſoles of brogues are ſtrong and impervious to wet, can only be accounted for, from that extraordinary retention of old cuſtoms for which mankind are remarkable.

CREAGHTS. The manners and cuſtoms of rude nations are nearly the ſame in all parts and all ages of the world. The Scythians, according to (*q*) Herodotus and Juſtin, had neither houſes nor fixed ſettlements; they wandered through the country with their flocks and herds. Their wives, their children and little furniture they carried in carts or waggons, covered with ſkins. They were ſtrangers to agriculture. Theſe manners were realized in our Creaghts, and that ſo late as in the laſt century, as appears by this entry in counſellor Harris's collections, now in the library of the Dublin Society.

" Orders by the general aſſembly of confederate Catholics, at Kilkenny, the 12th of Nov. 1647.

Whereas ſeveral perſons of the province of Ulſter, and other parts of this kingdom, with their cattle and families, go in great multitudes through ſeveral parts of the ſeveral provinces of this kingdom; being, as they alledge, neceſſitated for the ſafety of their lives and fortunes, to leave their former dwellings and habitations, and where, by *their daily ranging*, they have very *much prejudiced ſeveral counties*, in deſtroying the graſs, corn and other goods of the inhabitants there, which hath occaſioned, that ſeveral counties and places are

(*q*) Lib. 4. Juſtin, lib. 2. cap. 2.

quite deſerted and waſted, and the ſaid Keyriaghts avoid the contribution which falls due upon them. It is therefore for the future redreſs of ſuch miſchiefs thought fit, that the lord general of Ulſter, calling to his aſſiſtance ſuch other perſons of the ſaid province as ſhall be fit, ſhall inquire and find out, and return to the ſupreme council now to be eſtabliſhed, the head Keyriaghts of the ſaid province of Ulſter, within the ſeveral provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught, and what numbers of cattle each of them hath. Upon return whereof, and examination, by the council, of the lands waſted in the ſeveral counties, which are ſet for county charges only, or which are waſted and yield no county charges, to aſſign unto the ſaid Keyriaghts, or unto ſeveral of them together, ſo much of the waſte lands in the ſeveral provinces for their habitations, and their paying county charges for the ſame, as others of the ſaid counties will do, where they are to reſide, till they may return to their former habitations, and not to annoy their neighbours, or any of the quarters of the confederate Catholics, at their peril.

Printed at Kilkenny, 1647."

The encampments of theſe Creaghts are ſtill to be ſeen in many parts of the kingdom; one of them is on Knockacolla Hill, near Caſtletown, in the Queen's county. Numerous burrows, or holes where they placed their pots, appear, as is practiſed at fairs. In their journies they married with the reſident natives, and we may trace the remains of them in that county, in the names of Mac Dowel, Mac Donnel, Sinclair, and the like.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

ROUND TOWERS

IN

IRELAND.

By EDWARD LEDWICH, L. L. B.

Vicar of Aghaboe in the Queen's County.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

ROUND TOWERS

IN

IRELAND.

AMONG the many curioſities of nature and art, with which this kingdom remarkably abounds, not one of them merits a more particular attention than the numerous, ſlender round towers every where found; and which from the obſcurity of their origin, and the uncertainty of their uſe, have opened to men of leiſure and erudition, a ſpacious field for hypotheſis and conjecture.

It is worth remarking, that men blindly devoted to ſyſtems too often deal unfairly by the authors to whom they are moſt indebted; they ſelect ſuch parts as make for their argument; in theſe no error or imperfection appears; but thoſe that contravene their favourite notions are reprobated as undeſerving the leaſt regard; not conſidering, that by invalidating the credibility and authority of a writer

writer in any inſtance, they muſt defeat the purpoſe for which they adduce him. Giraldus Cambrenſis hath remarkably experienced this treatment; in ſome caſes his teſtimony is alledged as deciſive, when in others he is ſaid to be fabulous and prejudiced; yet if we allow for the age in which he lived; the prevalence of romantic fiction; the low ſtate of learning and criticiſm, with a tincture of perſonal vanity; we ſhall ſee him throughout his works, a man of excellent talents, and well verſed in the various departments of ſcience then known and cultivated. His coming to this kingdom at different times, with his continuance in it, muſt give a degree of credit to his relations not lightly to be regarded, nor rejected without ſufficient reaſon.

"The Iriſh nation, ſays (*a*) this writer, is inhoſpitable, living on the produce of their cattle, and leading a life but little ſuperior to them; nor have they emerged from the paſtoral ſtate. As the progreſs of human ſociety is to advance from woods to open fields, and from the latter to towns, this nation deſpiſing agriculture, inattentive to civil wealth and regardleſs of law, ſpend their lives in woods and paſtures."—Theſe remarks are juſt, and evince the fine philoſophical turn of the author; they are exactly the ſame ideas which make a conſpicuous figure in one of the ſketches of (*b*) lord Kaims. The Iriſh had quitted the hunter, and advanced

(*a*) Eſt autem gens hæc, gens inhoſpita; gens ex beſtiis ſolum, &c. Topog. Hibern.

(*b*) Sketch 2, book 1.

vanced to the ſhepherd ſtate, the ſecond ſtage in the civilization of mankind; but their manners were little altered; their food, their domeſtication and every other circumſtance ſhowed, that the liberty, the ferocity and untamed nature of tenants of the foreſt, were far from being reclaimed, and ſtill farther from ſubmitting to the ſalutary reſtraints of legal inſtitutions. Their but little (*c*) affecting civil wealth, (which includes the ornamental arts,) reſulted from their want of foreign trade, home manufactures and great towns.

Cambrenſis proceeds:—"The (*d*) different kinds of metal with which the deeper veins abound, through an idle diſpoſition are neither dug for any uſe, or turned to any account. For gold, which they covet to have in abundance, is imported among them by Oſtmen merchants. They have no manufactures of linen, woollen, or other kinds. Sunk in indolence and ſloth, they eſteem it their higheſt bliſs not to labour, and their greateſt riches to enjoy their liberty."—This and the former citation accord; there are an union and harmony of parts, which ſhow the pencil of the painter was guided by truth in the great outline. It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive, as it would be very prepoſterous to aſſert, that the writer rather indulged a licentious fancy on this occaſion, than repreſented living manners; the moſt perverſe nationality muſt bluſh to aſſert it.

The

(*c*) Civiles gazas parum affectans. Cambrens. ſupra.

(*d*) Metallorum quoque diverſorum genera quibus venæ ſcaturiunt interiores, ejuſdem ocioſitatis vitio, nec ad uſum prodeunt, nec proficiunt. Cambrens. ſupra.

The gold imported by the Oſtmen was uſed by the natives for perſonal ornaments. They beheld theſe ſtrangers decorated with this ſhining metal, worked into (*e*) bracelets, rings and other garnitures, as badges of nobility, and rewards of valour, and they were eager to adorn themſelves in like manner. Coined money was not (*f*) common in the tenth century among the northern nations, and out of the Engliſh pale the Iriſh had very little.

Even ſo late as the year 1331, it appears by (*g*) record, that fines or law-mulcts were ordered to be paid no longer in cattle but in money; and in 1399, the prince of Leinſter's horſe was valued at four hundred cows. The gentleman who attended king Richard II. in his expedition hither at this time, adds:—(*h*) For in that country they barter by exchange, and one commodity for another, and not for ready money.—If then permutation was in uſe in 1399, the Iriſh were ſurely not more improved in 1185, when Cambrenſis was here and examined the country! So that we may give full credit to his narration in this reſpect, notwithſtanding what our antiquarians tell us of the vaſt treaſures of our monarchs.

Cambrenſis

(*e*) Sax. Grammat. paſſ. Bartholin. de Armillis veterum. Some of theſe Armillæ, and of different ſizes, were found a few years ago in a Daniſh rath at Cartown, Queen's County, by Daniel Kane, a labouring man.

(*f*) Illa vero tempeſtate (eleventh century) nulla erat in terra moneta, ſed rebus res commutantes vetuſtiſſimo more, merecebantur. Krantz. Wandal. lib. 3. p. 70.

(*g*) Quod de cetero, fines de vaccis pro redemptione non capiantur ſed denarii. Prynne on the 4th Inſtit. 5 Edw. III.

(*h*) Apud Harris's Hibern. pag. 53.

Cambrenſis having ſhown, that the dawnings of commerce among the Iriſh originated from their intercourſe with the Oſtmen, intimates alſo other arts, with which thoſe foreigners brought them acquainted, and particularly that moſt uſeful one of maſonry. The Celtic nations did not know (*i*) the uſe of lime or cements, and the reaſon is obvious; they were in a rude and diſperſed ſtate, without fixed habitations or domeſtic improvements; and timber abounded for every purpoſe. In America moſt of the public and private buildings are of wood, as well as the ſmall fortreſſes in remote parts. It was the ſcarcity of timber, and the danger of wooden houſes from fire in populous towns, that made mankind turn their attention to more durable materials, and borrow the arts of more civilized nations.

This neceſſity had not operated in favour of Iriſh architecture at this time, nor for ſome ages after the arrival of the Oſtmen; who at firſt introduced themſelves here as traders, if we believe Cambrenſis, but more probably as (*k*) pirates, infeſting and trading alternately along the coaſt of the kingdom, as circumſtances offered. This was in the year 795. Succeſs allured others to ſimilar enterprizes. Finding the country open and fertile, and the inhabitants in no ſituation to oppoſe large bodies, they attempted the conqueſt of them. England, Scotland and (*l*) France had felt the force of the northern

(*i*) Ne cæmentorum quidem apud illos uſus. Tacit. Germ. cap. 16.

(*k*) Waræi Antiq. pag. 121.

(*l*) On commerce à parler des Normands, des Anglois, des Danois, &c. Charlemagne prévit, ovec douleur les ravages. Henault Hiſt. de France, pag. 68. A. 807.

northern proweſs. The ſhort (*m*) lances of the Iriſh, their ſlings and darts were ill-matched with the Daniſh habergeons, their ſhields, large axes and long ſwords; no wonder if they ſuccumbed to ſuch enemies. To this ſuperiority of their being clad in mail, our (*n*) hiſtorians aſcribe the victories of the Saxons over the Scots and Picts. Theſe incidental facts are additionally illuſtrative of our incivility in thoſe ages.

Turgeſius, the Daniſh chief, having in the year 840, ſubdued this iſland, examined it round, and at proper ſtations erected (*o*) caſtles and fortreſſes throughout it. Hence it is, ſays (*p*) Cambrenſis, that we ſee at this day an infinite number of intrenchments, very high, round, and many of them triple; alſo walled caſtles now (A. D. 1185.) in good preſervation, though empty and deſerted; the remains and traces of former times. For the Iriſh, continues he, build no caſtles; woods ſerve them

(*m*) Tribus tamen utuntur (Hibernii) armorum generibus; lanceis non longis & jaculis binis. Lapides quoque pugillares; cum alia defecerint, hoſtibus in conflictu damnoſiſſimis præ alia gente, promptius & expeditius ad manum habent. Viri bellicoſi, *Danico more*, undique ferro veſtiti, alii loricis longis, alii laminis ferreis arte conſutis, clypeis quoque rotundis, et rubris circulariter ferro munitis. Cambrens. ſup. cap. 21.

(*n*) Cumque hoſtes pilis et lanceis pugnarent, Angloſaxones vero ſecuribus gladiiſque longis rigidiſſime decertarent, nequiverunt Pictæ & Scoti pondus tantum perferre, ſed fuga ſaluti ſuæ conſuluerunt. Langhorn. Chron. pag. 7.

(*o*) Totam undique terram, locis idoneis incaſtellavit. Cambrens. ſup.

(*p*) Unde foſſata infinita, alta nimis, rotunda quoque ac pleraque triplicia. Caſtella etiam murata, et adhuc integra, vacua tamen et deſerta, ex reliquiis illis et antiquitatis veſtigiis, multa reperies. Cambrens. ſup. cap. 37.

them for fortifications, and the moraſſes for entrenchments. Theſe accounts, our author tells us, he learned from Iriſh writers, and he himſelf, who was well acquainted with the Daniſh ſettlements at Dublin, Waterford and Limerick, and with the Daniſh clergy, many of whom poſſeſſed high dignities in the church, ſuggeſted nothing to contradict them. Our own writers complain:—(q) That being enfranchiſed from the tyranny of Turgeſius, we reſigned ourſelves to eaſe and unmaſculine lazineſs; neglected navigation and fleets, which alone could ſecure us from freſh attacks; and were ſo far blinded as to ſlight all the Daniſh fortifications, making none in their ſtead, not even in the ſea-ports.—

Cambrenſis, in the preceding extract, accurately diſtinguiſhes the different ſorts of Daniſh fortreſſes; ſome were of clay, others of lime and ſtone, The foſſatum was generally a conical riſing ground; the firſt intrenchment was made round the vertex, and the earth thrown down the hill; this ſwelled its circumference and enlarged its baſe. By working thus, the ditches were eaſier made, and the valla or ramparts became higher and more precipitous. The caſtella murata being of lime and ſtone are mentioned in contradiſtinction to the foſſata; and from the former being called (r) *neſts* by

(q) Walſh's Proſpect, pag. 51.

(r) Cumque reſponſum, nidos eorum ubique deſtruendos, ſi jam forte nidificâſſent, de Caſtellis Norwagienſium hoc interpretants. Cambrens. ſup. cap. 42. Elſewhere—Civitates foſſatis & muris optime cinxerant: ſtill preſerving the diſtinction. Theſe neſts were the circular towers hereafter noticed by Macpherſon.

by the natives, they muſt have been high circular buildings, if any connexion was meant between the two ideas. In the erection of theſe forts, Turgeſius conſulted prudence and the paucity of his troops, as by them he could extend his communications to a great diſtance, and yet be ſure againſt the conſequences of inſurrections.

The evidence now produced of the uncivilized ſtate of the Iriſh, of their ignorance of the mechanic arts and the introduction of maſonry by the Oſtmen, muſt be allowed to have great force; but it will receive an higher degree of certainty, if it ſhould be confirmed, as to the laſt particular, by both Iriſh and Engliſh writers. Mr. O'Connor (*s*) informs us; " that the buildings of the ancient Scots were for uſe ſolely and not for oſtentation. They built their houſes of *timber*, as ſeveral nations of Europe have done until very lately, and as ſome do at this day. They did not conceive, that real magnificence conſiſted in rearing heaps of ſtone, artfully diſpoſed and cloſely cemented; or that real grandeur received any diminution from the humility of its habitation. The firſt in worthy accompliſhments was generally elected to the dignity of magiſtrature, whether royal or dynaſtal. In ſuch a country durable or ſuperb ſtructures could not well take place, as the poſſeſſion was temporary ſo was the building. And ſo far did inveterate cuſtom prevail among the people, that even after their reception of Chriſtianity, they could not be induced to build their churches and monaſteries of more durable

(*s*) Diſſertations, pag. 104, 2d edit.

durable materials than their own habitations. The exceptions are very few, and the church of St. Kianan, built in the ſixth century, is the *firſt inſtance* of any ſtone-work erected in this kingdom. They had no cities or towns in the earlier ages. In a country where the inhabitants have but few mechanical arts; where they draw moſt of their neceſſaries from the ſoil they cultivate, and where precious metals are not made equivalents, or ſigns of national wealth, there can be few or no cities. In their wars with the Engliſh they were at laſt obliged to avail themſelves of the arts of their enemies, by erecting caſtles and other ſtrong holds. This gave riſe to ſtone-buildings in Leinſter, Munſter and Connaught, and ſoon after in Ulſter. The northern bards inveighed bitterly againſt this innovation, and repreſented it as a ſignal that the nation was ripening for foreign ſubjection. "Let us, ſaid one of them, pull down thoſe fortreſſes of the inſidious enemy, and ceaſe working for them, by erecting any of our own; their ſtratagems will aſſuredly wreſt them out of our hands. Our anceſtors truſted entirely to their perſonal valour, and thought the *ſtone-houſes* of the *Galls* a diſgrace to courage." Every line of this citation goes to confirm the authority of Cambrenſis. Let us hear (*t*) ſir John Davis, a candid and intelligent obſerver.

"Though the Iriſhry be a nation of great antiquity, and wanted neither wit nor valour; and though they have received the Chriſtian faith above 1200 years ſince, and were lovers of poetry, muſick,

(*t*) Hiſtorical Relations.

muſick, and all kinds of learning, and were poſſeſſed of a land in all things neceſſary for the civil life of man, yet, which is ſtrange to be related, they did never build any houſes of brick or ſtone, ſome few poor religious houſes excepted, before the reign of king Henry II. though they were lords of the iſle many hundred years before and ſince the conqueſt attempted by the Engliſh. Albeit, when they ſaw us build caſtles upon their borders, they have only in imitation of us, erected ſome few piles for the captains of the country. Yet I dare boldly ſay, that never any particular perſon, either before or ſince, did build any ſtone or brick houſe for his private habitation, but ſuch as have lately obtained eſtates according to the courſe of the law of England. Neither did any of them in all this time, plant any garden or orchard, ſettle villages or towns, or make any proviſion for poſterity.—

"There is at this day, ſays Sir William Petty in his Political Anatomy of Ireland, no monument or real argument, that when the Iriſh were firſt invaded by Henry II. they had any *ſtone houſing at all*, any money, any foreign trade, nor any learning but the legend of the ſaints, pſalters, miſſals, rituals; nor geometry, aſtronomy, anatomy, architecture, engineery, painting, carving, nor any kind of manufacture, nor the leaſt uſe of navigation, nor the art military." Doctor Campbell, in his Political (*u*) Survey of the South of Ireland, poſitively aſſerts, that what is reported by bards and others of the magnificent palace of Teamor cannot be true, for

(*u*) Letter 5th.

for the hill of Taragh itſelf is evidence enough to prove, that there never could have been a conſiderable houſe of lime and ſtone upon it.

Having evicted the Iriſh of any pretenſions to works of lime and ſtone, the Oſtmen, who poſſeſſed this country for above a century and a half, appear to have firſt introduced them. On their converſion to Chriſtianity in the (*w*) beginning of the tenth century, they expreſſed the moſt fervent and lively zeal for it, in founding churches, monaſteries, and religious ſtructures; and ſo conſpicuous and ſincere were their lives, that at the Engliſh invaſion they filled with reputation both biſhopricks and abbies. From the proofs before alledged, it is evident that our eccleſiaſtical buildings were of wood, and therefore not calculated for bells, the common and uſeful appendage of ſuch ſtructures. The campanile or belfry in England was diſtinct from the church, as we learn from the Monaſticon, and in Ireland it was the Round Tower. The following coincidences will confirm this opinion. "The era of the invention of bells, ſays (*x*) Mr. Bentham, is ſomewhat obſcure; ſome traces of them may be diſcovered in our monaſteries (*y*) even in the ſeventh century. Yet I believe one may venture to aſſert, that ſuch large ones as required diſtinct buildings for their ſupport, do not appear to have been in uſe among us until the

(*w*) Waræi Antiq. p. 132, places it in 948, but it was earlier.

(*x*) Antiquities of Ely, pag. 29.

(*y*) On croit, que l'uſage dans nos egliſes n'ont eſt pas anterieur au ſixieme ſiecle; il y etoit etablie en 610. Encycloped. article, Cloche.

tenth century, about the middle of which, we find ſeveral of our churches furniſhed with them by the munificence of our kings; but they were not very common in that age."

About the middle of the eighth centry, pope Stephen III. built a (*z*) tower on the church of St. Peter at Rome, and placed in it three bells; and yet ſuch towers were not common in France and the Weſt at a much later period, as appears from an antient (*a*) writer, whoſe expreſſions leave no doubt, but they were ſeparate buildings from the church and their erection very unuſual. About the end of the ninth century, (A. D. 874) the (*b*) Greek church adopted bells from the Venetians; their belfry alſo (*c*) was diſtinct from the church. The Turks who imitated the Chriſtians in many of their religious practices, did the ſame in this of the tower, and by it they formed their (*d*) minarets. In the beginning of the eighth century the Saracens ſettled in Spain, and in the next age, the northern rovers, by us called Oſtmen and by the continental people Normans, began to be formidable, to commit depredations and to eſtabliſh ſettlements on the French and Spaniſh coaſts as well as in Ireland.

(*z*) Du Cange, voce Campana.

(*a*) In ejus quaque fronte, *prope valvas* majoris eccleſiæ, de quadratis et maximis ſaxis, mirificam quæ vulgo Campanarium nuncupatur, erexit. Du Cange, ſupra.

(*b*) Sabellic. Ennead. 9. lib. 1.

(*c*) Καμπανάριον—κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον ναόν. Du Cange ſupra.

(*d*) Quo magis iſta proclamatio (Ezan) longius exaudiatur, in turrim quandam pyramidalem (Mênar) e lapide aut latere conſtructam, quo Moſcheæ adjacet, aſcenditur. Smith de morib. Turcar. pag. 33. This is exactly the idea of our towers.

Ireland. In theſe expeditions they muſt have ſeen the Chriſtian and Saracenic belfries, and brought back the ideas of them on their return; why then it may be aſked are they not found in England?

England in the ſeventh century commenced an elegant ſtyle of building in her principal churches and monaſtic foundations, under the patronage of Wilfrid, Biſcopius and others. They were followed by ſeveral other prelates and abbots in proportion to their power and opulence. In the year 935, their taſte was ſo much improved, that (*e*) croſs-ailes and high towers were added to religious edifices. But the round tower, which was a Daniſh work, could not find place in England, becauſe the domination of theſe northerns was not eſtabliſhed there until half a century after the introduction of croſs-ailes; by which time the Anglo-Saxon ſtyle was going into diſuſe, and almoſt ſunk in the Gothic or Norman. Had the Danes reared their towers before thoſe elegant ſtructures, the meaneſt peaſant would have ridiculed the attempt. But in Ireland the caſe was totally different; our churches were of wood, and as mean as poſſible; a bell was wanting (which they could not admit) to collect people to divine worſhip, who were generally ſettled in the vicinity of the church; and it alſo ſerved to give an alarm in times of danger. Cambrenſis calls them eccleſiaſtical towers, which fixes their appropriation, as the Iriſh do (*f*) Clog-had, or belfries.

(*e*) Bentham, ſupra.
(*f*) Molyneaux on Daniſh Mounts.

That they are Daniſh works their rotund figure manifeſtly evinces; this was the (*g*) form of their camps and fortifications, of their barrows and ſtone circles, and of their antient habitations ſtill exiſting "It is unqueſtionably certain, ſays (*i*) the learned Dr. Macpherſon, that the oldeſt forts on the weſtern and northern coaſts of Scotland, were erected by the barbarians of the northern Europe. All the Norwegian towers in the Ebudes were of a *circular* form; the old ſquare caſtles there are of a much later date."—The opinion of a (*k*) reſpectable native writer deſerves notice: "It is moſt certain, that thoſe high, round, narrow towers of ſtone, built cylinder-wiſe, whereof Cambrenſis ſpeaks, were never known or built in Ireland, as indeed no more were any caſtles, houſes, or even churches of ſtone, at leaſt in the north of Ireland, before the year of Chriſt 838, when the heathen Danes poſſeſſing a great part of that country, built them in ſeveral places, to ſerve as watch-towers againſt the natives. Though ere long the Danes being expulſed, the Chriſtian Iriſh turned them to another, and much better, becauſe an holy uſe, that is, to ſteeple-houſes or bell-fries; from which latter uſe made of them it is, that ever ſince to this preſent, they are called in Iriſh *cloghteachs*, that is, bell-fries or bell-houſes; *cloc* or *clog* ſignifying a bell, and *teach* a houſe in that language."

In

(*g*) Caſtra autem hæc ſemper rotunda. Spelman. vit. Ælfred. pag. 58.

(*h*) Ol. Magn. et Ol. Worm. Mon. Dan.

(*i*) Critical Diſſertations, pag. 293.

(*k*) Walſh's Proſpect, pag. 416, 417

In an antient Iriſh manuſcript (ſays the (*l*) hiſtorian of the county of Cork) containing ſome annals of Munſter, there is mention made of the building the tower of Kineth in this county, about the year 1015, ſoon after the celebrated battle of Clantarffe. This is too late a period to make it the era of their general erection by at leaſt a century; but it does not weaken the probability of both Danes and natives continuing the practice of building ſuch ſtructures until nearly the time of the Norman invaſion, that is, until an improved taſte in architecture took place, which was about that time. Mr. Brereton imagines, (*m*) theſe towers to be places from whence the people were called to worſhip by the ſound of ſome wind inſtrument. This notion aroſe from an iron trumpet being found in one of them; if this circumſtance be really true, it is a new proof of their being Daniſh works, though the inference deduced may be doubtful. The author laſt cited aſſerts, that theſe towers preceded the uſe of bells in Ireland; this is conjecture without the leaſt proof; bells were uſed in the ceremonies (*n*) of religion as early as the fifth century, and theſe towers were conſtructed about the tenth.

Whether there are any round towers in Denmark or Norway is not poſitively decided; we have no evidence of accurate inquiries being made after them; for curſory queſtions put to ignorant natives, or the reports of ſuperficial obſervers will never

(*l*) Smith's Hiſt of Cork, vol. 2. pag. 409.

(*m*) Archæologia, publiſhed by the Society of Antiquaries, London, vol. 2. pag. 80.

(*n*) See the authors cited by Du Cange, voce Campana.

never determine the point. Mr. Pennant (*o*) tells us, that while he lay in the ſound of Jona in the Hebrides, two gentlemen from the iſle of Mull, and who had poſſeſſions there, ſeemed to know nothing of that aſtoniſhing curioſity, the Baſaltic iſle of Staffa. If ſuch was the want of attention and information in perſons of property, and to ſo extraordinary a rarity in their vicinity, we may well ſuppoſe the round towers, if any there be abroad, are as indifferently paſſed over. Nor is it leſs remarkable, that until a mercurial (*p*) traveller enumerated thoſe in this kingdom, they had been before but ſlightly noticed by our hiſtorians, topographers and antiquaries, though more than forty of them, and thoſe well preſerved, ſtill remain. The ſame may be ſaid of the Swediſh antiquities, which were but imperfectly known until Dahlberg lately exhibited many of them in his Suecia Hodierna et Antiqua.

But the late reception of Chriſtianity will very well account for the want of round towers, or other antient monuments of religion, in northern Europe. The Normans, Danes, Swedes and their neighbours did not embrace (*q*) the doctrine of redemption until the twelfth century. At that time the more ſouthern nations were tolerably civilized; ſumptuous edifices dedicated to ſacred uſes, were common among them, the antient being mouldered into ruins, or ſunk into oblivion; even had they ſurvived,

(*o*) Tour in Scotland.
(*p*) Twiſs's Tour in Ireland, 1775.
(*q*) Spanheim. Epiſt. Hiſt. Eccles. p. 444—501—502. W. Malmeſb. pag. 69.

ſurvived, no one would dream of making them models of imitation.

After all, theſe ſtructures might have been peculiar to Ireland, and Cambrenſis intimates as much when he ſays, they were built *patrio more*, after the faſhion of the country. The circular Norwegian towers, mentioned above by Dr. Macpherſon, might have ſuggeſted the idea of them, and their appropriation to religious purpoſes aroſe from the ſtate of Chriſtianity then in this kingdom. When once they were adopted, they ſoon were multiplied.

Mr. Pennant, ſpeaking of the Scottiſh round towers, ſays they could not be intended for belfries, becauſe they are placed near the ſteeples of churches, infinitely more commodious for that end. This ſuppoſes the ſteeples and round towers to be coeval, which is not the caſe; our anceſtors, whatever may be thought of them at this day, were incapable of committing ſuch a ſoleciſm in architecture. Though the tower was uſed as a belfry, yet this by no means ſuperceded the neceſſity of ſteeples on ſtone-buildings of later conſtruction; ſuch ſtructures, being generally in the form of a croſs, had a ſteeple raiſed on its interſection. Thus in the cemetery of the cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny, there is a beautiful round tower, yet the ſymmetry of the cathedral, which is Gothic, required a ſteeple, and it has one. Wherever we find a round tower, we may be certain the church contiguous to it is of early antiquity, and not later than the eleventh century.

A learned

A learned (*r*) antiquary is of opinion, that theſe towers were erected by the Phenicians or Carthaginians in their trading voyages hither; ſome paſſages in antient authors ſeems to countenance this conjecture. Diodorus Siculus, (*s*) diſcourſing of the Hyperboreans who inhabited an iſland oppoſite the Celtic region, ſays: "The trees there bear fruit twice every year. The fabulous chronicle records, that Latona was born in that country; hence the inhabitants adore Apollo, whoſe praiſes they are continually chanting. In the iſle is a noble foreſt, dedicated to this deity, a temple alſo of a *ſpherical* figure filled with preſents, and a city ſacred to the ſame God; the greateſt part of the people are muſicians, they play on the harp in his temple, and ſing hymns to his praiſe."

This deſcription is plainly the work of fancy; the author is not to be cenſured, when he himſelf intimates a ſuſpicion of his authority.

Neither are they the Pyratheïa of the Perſians, a notion lately taken up on the authority of Mr. Hanway (*t*), who in his travels into Perſia, found round towers in the country of the Gaurs, or worſhippers of fire. Mr. Hanway barely mentions their exiſtence without reaſoning on, or deducing any inference from it. In the year 634, the Saracens conquered Perſia, and placed on its throne a monarch of their own. Their zeal in eſtabliſhing their religion, wherever their arms extended, to the

(*r*) Lieut. Col. Vallancey. Collectanea, No. 2. pag. 206.
(*s*) Lib. 2. pag. 91.
(*t*) Travels into Perſia, part 2. chap. 43.

the excluſion of all others is fully (*u*) aſcertained, and theſe towers are remains of their Minarets. It is very foreign from the Turkiſh or Mahometan religion to ſuffer monuments of heterodoxy to remain, as the Chriſtian temples have ſadly experienced; much leſs would they ſhow marks of favour to a contemptible ſect. But this opinion is groundleſs for another reaſon, which is, that the Gaurs do not worſhip fire, as Tavernier aſſerts; the reſpect they have for that element is only commemorative of ſome ſervices, it is ſuppoſed to have done their prophet.

But an examination of the antient Pyratheïa will ſet this matter in the cleareſt light. "Strabo (*w*) informs us, that they were incloſures of great compaſs; in the middle were altars, and on them the Magi preſerved much aſhes and a perpetual fire." Can we from theſe words conclude that they were buildings of lime and ſtone, and of the altitude of our round towers? As to their being Phenician works, we know theſe people derived much of their religion from (*x*) Egypt; it is therefore to be preſumed, that the temples reſembled thoſe of the latter, which conſiſted of four (*y*) parts, and of conſiderable extent, and not reſembling, in any inſtance, our round towers, as the learned reader will perceive by recurring to the paſſage cited in the margin.

The

(*u*) Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, paſſim.
(*w*) Lib. 17.
(*x*) Kircher. Oedip. Ægyptiac. tom. 1. pag. 246.
(*y*) Λιθόστρωτον, Προπύλαιον, Πρόναον καὶ ὁ Ναός. Strab. lib. 17. pag. 805.

The opinion acquieſced in for ſome years, is that of the late reverend dean Richardſon, and ſince adopted and improved by Mr. Harris, in his edition of Sir James Ware's antiquities. This ſuppoſes our towers to be the reſidence of anachorite monks, and imitations of the eaſtern pillars; and is founded on the account Evagrius gives of Simeon Stylites, which, to avoid ambiguity, it may be proper to (*z*) extract: "The fabrick of Simeon's church repreſents the form of a croſs, beautified with porticoes of four ſides; oppoſite theſe are placed pillars, curiouſly made of poliſhed ſtone, whereon the roof is graceſully raiſed to an height. In the midſt of theſe porticoes is an open court, wrought with much art, in which court ſtands the *pillar*, forty cubits high, whereon that incarnate angel upon earth (Simeon) led a celeſtial life." It muſt require a warm imagination to point out the ſimilarity between this pillar and our tower. The one was ſolid, the other hollow; the one was ſquare, and the other circular.

The arcti incluſorii ergaſtulum (*a*) of Harris, was a monaſtic cell or hermitage. Raderus, on whom he much depends, ſays, (*b*) "The houſe of the recluſe ought to be of ſtone; the length and breadth twelve feet; with three windows, one facing

(*z*) Lib. 1. cap. 14. Not having the original convenient, I make uſe of Hanmer's tranſlation.

(*a*) Ware's Antiquities, pag. 134.

(*b*) Incluſa, id eſt, domus Incluſi, debet eſſe lapidea, longitudo et latitudo in 12 pedes abeat; tres feneſtras, unam contra chorum, per quam corpus Chriſti accipiat; alteram in oppoſito, per quam victum recipiat; tertiam unde lucem habeat, quæ ſemper debet eſſe clauſa vitro vel cornu. Rader. in Bavar. Sanct.

facing the choir, through which he may receive the body of Chriſt; the other oppoſite, through which food is conveyed to him; and the third for the admiſſion of light; the latter to be always covered with glaſs or horn". This alſo was very different from our round tower. Mr. Harris ſpeaking of Donchad O'Brien, abbot of Clonmacnois, who ſhut himſelf up in one of theſe cells, ſays: "I will not take upon me to affirm, that it was in one of theſe towers at Clonmacnois he was incloſed." —Here was a fine opportunity of proving his hypotheſis was it capable of it. Mr. Harris ſhould have ſhown from hiſtory, or other monuments, that theſe round towers were the receptacles of anachorites, and not to have begged the queſtion; but not a word of this is to be found in any record, either in print or manuſcript; all he is able to produce is the names of twenty five aſcetics, in the ſpace of 503 years. The annals of Ulſter and of the four maſters, from whence he takes them, only mention;—"Kellach anachoreta floruit, A. D. 828. Conlach anachoreta floruit, A. D. 862; &c." this ſurely hath no reference to, nor doth it prove them to have been inhabitants of the round towers. Thus deſtitute of every foundation, it is aſtoniſhing how implicitly and unreſervedly this reverie hath been embraced. What Lucretius obſerves of the wonders of nature is as applicable to literary paradoxes (*c*):

Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam
Principio, quod non minuant mirarier omnes
Paulatim.

We

(*c*) Lib. 2. lin. 1027.

We are told by Mr. Smith (*d*) that he once believed thoſe towers to be the retreats of anachorites; but from new information, derived from an Iriſh manuſcript, he now thinks they were places of penance. The penitent mounted on the higheſt loft, performed there a probation of ſome days; in like manner he proceeded to the next ſtage, and ſo downwards until he finiſhed his religious courſe, when he was received at the door of the tower, (which faced the weſtern door of the church) by the clergy and people. And he credits this notion, as it coincides with the general poſition of the doors of theſe towers, which are always to the eaſt; but the poſition is poſitively otherwiſe, as will preſently be ſeen in thoſe of Abernethy and Brechin, nor is any general rule obſerved in placing the doors, as he muſt have known from examining many of them in the counties he deſcribes. It was therefore very diſingenuous to ſacrifice his veracity in ſupport of a groundleſs hypotheſis, and an anonymous manuſcript, eſpecially as he himſelf ſupplies the ſtrongeſt proof of their original deſignation in (*e*) another work, where he remarks, that the round tower of Ardmore had been uſed for a belfry, there being towards the top not only four windows to let out the ſound, but alſo three pieces of oak, ſtill remaining, on which the bell was hung. And Mr. Pennant informs us, the tower of Brechin is uſed for a belfry; as is that of Roſcrea. This evidence ſeems deciſive; it is truth confirmed by immemorial uſage, and triumphing over learned whims.

The

(*d*) Hiſtory of the county of Cork, vol. 2. pag. 407.
(*e*) Hiſtory of the county of Waterford, pag. 71.

The profound ſilence of archbiſhop Uſher and of Lynch, Roth, Ward, Colgan, O'Flaherty and O'Conor, men, who have ſucceſsfully elucidated Iriſh antiquities, is a negative argument againſt the numerous ſyſtems before noticed, not eaſily to be anſwered.

With the utmoſt diffidence of himſelf and profound reſpect for the learned, the writer of theſe pages does not think the aggregate of his inductions incontrovertible, nor the ſolution of this difficult problem perfectly ſatisfactory; he offers them as the reſult of much inquiry, and the conviction of his own mind on this obſcure ſubject.

The following is a liſt of ſuch round towers in Ireland as have come within the author's knowledge; it is much larger than any hitherto exhibited, and yet he is convinced there are many more.

Aghagower,
Antrim,
Ardfert,
Ardmore,
Ballagh,
Cailtree iſle,
Caſhell,
Caſtledermot,
Clondalkin,
Clonmacnois,
Cloyne,
Deveniſh,
Downpatrick,
Drumboe,
Drumlane,
Dublin,
Dyſart,
Ferbane; two,
Fertagh,
Glendaloch; two,
Kells,
Kilcullen,
Kildare,
Kilkenny,
Killala,
Kilmacduagh,
Kilree,
Luſk,
Mahera,
Monaſterboice,
Newcaſtle,

Newcaſtle, near Foxfort,
Oughterard,
Ram iſle,
Rattoo,
Roſcrea,
Scattery,
Sligo; two,
Swords,
Timahoe,
Tulloherin,
Turlogh,
Weſt Carbury.

Scotland being nearly in the ſituation of Ireland as to the invaſions and ſettlement of the Oſtmen, we accordingly find two towers there, of which Mr. Gordon gives *(f)* the following deſcription, applicable, with little variation, to thoſe in this iſland.

"I went directly, ſays he, to Abernethy, the ancient capital of the Pictiſh nation, about four miles from Perth, to ſee if I could find any remains of the Picts hereabout; but could diſcover nothing except a ſtately hollow pillar without a ſtair-caſe; ſo that when I entered within and looked upward, I could ſcarce forbear imagining myſelf at the bottom of a deep draw-well. It has only one door or entrance, facing the north, ſomewhat above the baſis, the height of which is eight foot and a half, and the breadth from jam to jam, two and a half. Towards the top are four windows, which have ſerved for the admiſſion of light; they are equidiſtant, and five foot nine inches in height, and two foot two inches in breadth, and each is ſupported by two ſmall pillars. At the bottom are two rows of ſtones, projecting from beneath, which ſerved for a baſis or pedeſtal. The whole height of the pillar is ſeventy-five foot, and conſiſts of ſixty-four rows, or regular courſes of hewn ſtone. The external circumference at the baſe is

(*f*) Itinerar. Septentrional. pag. 164.

is forty-eight foot, but diminiſhes ſomewhat towards the top, and the thickneſs of the wall is three foot and a half. This is by the inhabitants hereabouts called the round ſteeple of Abernethy, and is ſuppoſed to be the only remains of Pictiſh work in theſe parts."

Of another tower he thus ſpeaks: "In my journey northward, I found a ſteeple at Brechin, differing little in ſhape from that at Abernethy, only it was larger and covered at the top; for its height from the baſe to the cornice is eighty-five foot, and from thence to the vane fifteen, in all one hundred; it conſiſts of ſixty regular courſes of ſtone; the external circumference thereof is forty-ſeven foot, and the thickneſs of the wall three foot eight inches. However this has no pedeſtal like the other, but ſeems to ſhoot out of the ground like a tree; it has a door fronting the ſouth; the height and breadth of which differ little from Abernethy; only upon it are evidences ſufficient to demonſtrate that it was a Chriſtian work, for over the top of the door is the figure of our Saviour on the croſs, with two little images or ſtatues towards the middle.

"This ſteeple has a low ſpiral roof of ſtone, with three or four windows above the cornice, and on the top thereof is placed a vane. It has no ſtaircaſe within, any more than the other, but the inhabitants of both towns aſcend to the top by ladders. The vulgar notion of theſe is, that they are Pictiſh, and I ſhould eaſily have reſted in that opinion, had I not been ſince that time aſſured, that ſome of the like monuments are to be ſeen in Ireland, where the Picts never were ſettled."

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

DUNAMASE

AND

SHEAN CASTLE,

IN THE

QUEEN's COUNTY.

MEMOIRS

OF

DUNAMASE

AND

SHEAN CASTLE,

IN the earlier ages of ſociety, the wants of mankind and their provocations to injuries ſeem to have been few; and yet ambition and jealouſy too frequently called forth the ferocity of untamed nature and the exertions of brutal force; diſturbed the ſavage inhabitants of the wilderneſs, and compelled them to ſeek ſecurity on (*a*) eminences, and in places of difficult acceſs; to incloſe an area with a ditch; or form an abatis of trees. Convenience and emergency pointed out theſe different modes of defence, and this kingdom is full of thoſe ancient fortreſſes. Separated from the chain of neighbouring hills, and precipitous on all ſides, except to the ſouth-weſt, Dunamaſe offered a ſafe aſylum to the firſt poſſeſſor: and if any

(*a*) See Cæſar's account of thoſe antient Forts, and Plat. de Leg.

reliance is to be placed on its (*b*) name, it was a place of ſtrength in the remoteſt times.

Dûn na maes in Celtic is—The Fort of the Plain.—The plain is the Great-Heath of Maryborough, lying to the north-eaſt of the Dûn; a flat of conſiderable extent. Ptolemy makes Dunum an inland Iriſh town, but (*c*) Cambden places it in Ulſter, and ſays it is Downpatrick. Ware (*d*) believes the Britiſh antiquary hath aſſigned it an improper ſituation, which ſuppoſition of Ware's, Harris doth not contradict. But the latter writers are certainly miſtaken; for Dunamaſe, from the narrowneſs of its circumference, never could contain but a few cabbins, and in records it is conſtantly mentioned as a fortreſs; whereas Downpatrick, as Cambden rightly obſerves, was a very old town, an epiſcopal ſee, and memorable on other accounts; beſides, Ptolemy's information was very imperfect as to the interior of the iſland, but tolerably accurate as to what reſpects the ſea-coaſt.

"We are (*e*) told, but upon apocryphal authority, that the remarkable building near Maryborough, in

(*b*) Dûn na maes, the hill of the plain, and metaphorically, the fort. Maes is Magh in Iriſh. Luid. Adverſar. pag. 271. The records in Birmingham tower call it Dunemaſke; Sir John Davis, Duamaſe; Ware, Dunemauſe; and Baron Finglas, with ſtill greater propriety, Dunnamauſe; all corruptions of its Celtic original. Dun-mow, or Dun-magh is the ſame. The French call ſuch hills, Dunes, and the Dutch Duynen. Ut aggeribus arenarum illic copioſis, quod Dunas vocitant, fere coæquaretur. Annal. Bertin. A. D. 838.

(*c*) In ipſius iſthmo Dunum floruit, cujus meminit etiam, ſed non ſuo loco Ptolomæus, nunc Down, vetuſtæ ſane memoriæ oppidum, ſedes epiſcopalis, &c. Britann. pag. 707.

(*d*) Cambdenus quaſi ſub alio ſole locat, et Dunum vult eſſe in agro Dunenſi. Waræi Antiq. pag. 51.

(*e*) O'Halloran's Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. 1. pag. 267.

in the Queen's County, vulgarly called Dunamaſe, was originally conſtructed by Laigſeach, a celebrated hero, and from him called—Dûn uï Laigſeach, or the fortreſs of Laigſeach." It is not eaſy to develope the writer's meaning in this paſſage; having, probably, never ſeen this iſolated rock, or only viewed it at a diſtance, he imagined it the work of art; for the buildings on it are no more remarkable than ſimilar ones of lime and ſtone; his ignorance alſo of the antient Iriſh language makes him produce a very inapt and inadequate etymology; the vulgar appellation, as he is pleaſed to ſtyle it, preſerves a ſtrong reſemblance of the Celtic original, and leads us to its primitive deſignation.

Mr. Pennant, in his tour in Scotland, ſaw, near Struan, a Daniſh fortification on the top of a rock; about a furlong diſtant, was another large fortified rock; theſe fortreſſes, he adds, are univerſally called, in the Erſe, Dûns. There are two Dûns in the Queen's County, and the ſame in every circumſtance as the Scottiſh ones; this of Dunamaſe, the other at Clopoke, about five miles diſtant. They are conoid hills of limeſtone, exhibiting a very ſingular appearance, and not only tenable by a ſmall garriſon, but before the uſe of artillery, almoſt impregnable.

On the ſubmiſſion of the Iriſh chiefs to king Henry the Second, the Engliſh government parcelled out the country among the adventurers, as the only means to extend and retain its conqueſts. In the fragment of hiſtory given us by (*f*) Maurice Regan,

(*f*) Harris's Hibernica, pag. 41.

inſurrections of the natives; he eſtabliſhed around his capital manſion a military tenantry, who held by knight's ſervice, and were always (*m*) prepared for war. This gave riſe to the numerous caſtles that ſurround Dunamaſe; as Dyſart, Palace, Shean, Moret, Ballymanus, Coolbanagher, Ballybrittas, Kilmarter and Ballyknockin.

Nor were the other concomitants of baronial magnificence wanting to Dunamaſe. About it lay the demeſne and other tenemental lands; the Great-Heath was the lord's waſte and common to the manor's, and the caſtle was crouded with armed men, the terror of the neighbourhood, and the bulwark of the pale. Such was the ſituation of Dunamaſe for many years. While the Britiſh ſettlers preſerved their original manners, the ficklenes of the Iriſh, and their proneneſs to reſiſtance were effectually curbed; but when the pride of power, without any of the virtue that acquired it, was only found among them; when corruptions had degraded their national character, they then became contemptible to thoſe who formerly dreaded them, and inſtead of maſters became ſuitors for protection.

"Taking advantage, ſays Sir John Davis, of thoſe weak times, the Iriſh uſurped thoſe ſeigniories that were in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; ſetting up a perpetual claim to thoſe great lordſhips, they were employed by the Engliſh noblemen for their protection,

(*m*) One of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor is:—Debent univerſi liberi homines, ſecundum ſuum fœdum, et ſecundum tenementa ſua, arma habere, et illa *ſemper prompta conſervare*, ad tuitionem regni, et ſervicium Dominorum ſuorum. Lambard, 135.

tection, but ſeized them as their inheritance when opportunity offered. Thus about the end of Edward II's reign, A. D. 1325, Lyſagh O More, the antient proprietary of Leix, being intruſted by lord Mortimer, who had married lord Brecknock's only daughter, with the care and protection of his eſtates, aſſumed the name of O More, took eight caſtles in one evening, deſtroyed Duamaſe (Dunamaſe), and recovered that whole country; de ſervo Dominus, de ſubjecto Princeps affectus, ſaith Fryar Clynn in his annals." Such is the account given by Davis, corroborating what hath been advanced concerning Dunamaſe and its caſtles.

In the year 1329, under the government of Sir John Darcy, Dunamaſe and other caſtles were recovered from the Iriſh; but ſuch at that time was the debility of the Engliſh admininiſtration in this kingdom, that there was very little ſecurity for property againſt the rapacity of the firſt invader. The O Mores again ſeized on Dunamaſe, about the 18th of Edward the Third, but were diſpoſſeſſed in two years after; for by a (*n*) plea-roll of the 20th of Edward the Third it appears, that Connel O More of Leix, who after rebellion had ſubmitted himſelf at Athy to Walter Bermingham, juſticiary of Ireland, acknowledged that he held his manor of Bellet and other his lands in Leix, of Roger Mortimer, as of his manor of Donmaſke (Dunamaſe).

In the year 1398, the ſame Mortimer, earl of March and Ulſter and lord of Dunamaſe, being lieutenant

(*n*) Apud Harris's Hibernica, pag. 74.

lieutenant of Ireland, had his paternal caſtle repaired, and its works enlarged; it is probable he would have viſited his eſtates in Leix, had he not been unfortunately ſlain in an engagement with the O Byrnes, at Kells in Oſſory, the twentieth of July this year.

Very little remarkable is recorded of Dunamaſe for ſome ſucceeding centuries, but its change of maſters in the perpetual convulſions which this nation experienced. In the reign of the elder James, this with the other fortreſſes of the kingdom was put into a defenſible ſtate. It was found, that the conſtruction of caſtles and ſtrong houſes were the only certain means of ſecuring the allegiance of the natives, and the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh. Hence in the ſpace of thirteen years, from the flight of Tyrone and Tyrconnel in 1606 to 1619, (the time (o) Pynnar made his ſurvey) there were built in the ſix eſcheated counties of Ulſter, one hundred and eighty-ſeven caſtles with bawns, nineteen without bawns, and forty-two bawns without caſtles. Under the adminiſtration of the earl of Strafford, as Borlaſe acquaints us, many new caſtles were built and the old repaired; amid this attention, Dunamaſe was not neglected, as we ſhall now ſee.

In the beginning of the Iriſh rebellions, the inſurgents ſecured Maryborough, Dunamaſe, Carlow and other ſtrong holds. The earl of Ormond arriving at Athy from Dublin, in April 1642, detached parties to the relief of thoſe fortreſſes. Of one of theſe detachments Sir Richard Cox thus ſpeaks

(o) Hibernica, ſupra.

ſpeaks in his Hiſtory of Ireland: "Sir Charles Coote going to Bir, was to paſs a cauſeway which the rebels had broken up, and had caſt up a ditch at the end of it; but Coote made thirty of his dragoons alight, and in perſon led them on, and beat off the Iriſh with the ſlaughter of forty rebels and their captain; and then relieved the caſtles of Bir, Burras and Knocknamaſe, (Dunamaſe)."

On the retreat of Ormond, theſe forts (*p*) ſubmitted to general Preſton, but were re-taken by the king's forces, and continued in their poſſeſſion until the year 1646, when Owen Roe O Neil entered the Queen's county, committing every act of outrage and cruelty; he (*q*) took Dyſart, Maryborough, Cullenbrack, Sheehen alias Dſiden, Bealaroyn, Caſtlereban, &c. Dunamaſe within a ſmall mile of Dyſart did not eſcape.

In 1648, O Neil offered to ſurrender his garriſons in the Queen's county to colonel Jones, and to lay down his arms, provided he and the confederate catholics might have the privileges confirmed to them which they enjoyed in the reign of king James; but this was not accepted; the next year lord Caſtlehaven drove O Neil out of the county.

In July 1650, Maryborough, Dunamaſe, and the neighbouring forts ſurrendered to the colonels Heuſon and Reynolds; Dunamaſe was blown up and effectually diſmantled, as were the reſt.

Let us now proceed to a deſcription of this antient fortreſs:— The entrance is S. W. and faces the road to Stradbally; here was the barbican, which

(*p*) Caſtlehaven's Memoirs.
(*q*) Deſiderata Curios. Hibern. pag. 506.

which ſerved for a watch-tower, and was joined to the ditch by a draw-bridge. On each ſide of the barbican were ditches, as far as the hill was acceſſible, and the (*r*) outward ballium was flanked with two towers of baſtions; the firſt gateway is ſeven feet wide, and the walls ſix feet thick; it has a (*s*) machicolation over it, for pouring down melted lead or ſcalding water; the wall of this ballium is a parapet, crenellated, and to the N. E. is twenty feet high, with long chinks and oillet holes. The diſtance between tower and tower is one hundred and ſeventy-four feet.

Between the outward and inward ballia is a length of one hundred feet; the gate of the latter is placed in a tower, and over it was a guard-room; in the thickneſs of the walls are ſide paſſages admitting but one perſon at a time, and he by no means corpulent. From this ſecond tower begins the parapet wall that ſurrounds the ſummit of the hill; its circumference is 1086 feet; the area is not perfectly circular, though nearly ſo, as far as the projections and inequalities of the rock will admit; ſo that its diameter at top is 362 feet. The hill is naturally an elliptical conoid; in ſome parts, from its baſe to its vertex, it meaſures 200 feet.

The inner wall at proper diſtances had towers; the foundations ſtill appear; on the ſummit of the hill ſtood the keep or donjon; ſome, and not improbably,

(*r*) Ballium, is the ſpace immediately within the outer wall.

(*s*) Machicolations, are ſmall ſtone projections, ſupported by brackets, having open intervals at bottom, or a kind of grates for the uſes mentioned.

probably, have ſuppoſed this to be the chapel; it is eaſt and weſt, and the eaſtern window intire. It was this appropriation to a religious uſe, that perhaps ſtopped the fury of the fanatic deſtroyers of this building, and left it untouched. Contiguous to this was a dwelling houſe, ſeventy-two feet long and twenty-one wide; on this were platforms and embattled parapets, from whence the garriſon might ſee and command the exterior works. The houſe was divided into apartments, and vaults ran under the whole. To the N. W. was a well of excellent water; and on the weſt was, what tradition calls, a priſon; but it ſeems to have been a poſtern. The naked rock appears on the N. E. ſide, and the approach to the other parts was difficult and dangerous. When whole and complete it was a beautiful model of military architecture, and even at this day preſents the curious viſitant with noble ruins of its former grandeur.

Small ſilver coins, belonging to the early Iriſh princes, have been found at Dunamaſe; there is one in the collection of the Rev. Mervyn Archdall, rector of Attier-Attanagh, in the dioceſe of Oſſory, that is a great curioſity; it is the ſize of a ſilver four-pence, but thinner; on the face is this epigraphe—Re Morrah, King O Mora, or O More; and on the reverſe is, Na Dunegh, or rather Dunadh, of the Fort; expreſſing the place of coinage, and the reſidence of the chief. The letters are the antient Ogham croabh characters, and the ſame with thoſe that appear on the coins of O Toole, found at Glendaloch in the county of Wicklow. This coin was ſtruck in the eleventh century;

century; for, ſubſequent to the Norman invaſion, the native Iriſh princes coined no money, though before that period the practice was common.

SHEAN CASTLE,

As we before obſerved, was a manor dependent on Dunamaſe, and built not many years poſterior to it. The name is variouſly written. In a record of the 20 Richard II. A. D. 1397, it is Sion; and in a (*t*) tract relative to the Iriſh rebellion, it is Sheehan; but as the moſt antient name generally approaches neareſt the true one, ſo ſion in Iriſh expreſſes its expoſure to all the viciſſitudes of weather, it ſtanding on an high eminence and unſheltered.

In an account of the caſtles in the Queen's county in 1615, it is called Shian; and on the banks of the Blackwater near Liſmore, in the county of Waterford, is a Shian caſtle; but the (*u*) writer who gives this information offers nothing in explanation of the appellation.

It has eſcaped the notice of our antiquaries that the Engliſh on their ſettlement here gave Saxonic names to places, which have paſſed with the incurious for Iriſh ones, and therefore their etymology is in vain ſought for in the latter language; thus the name of the third cantred of the barony of Oſſory, in the Queen's county, is Upperwoods; intimating its foreſts mounted on its lofty mountains. The pariſh,

(*t*) Deſiderat. Curios. Hib. ſupra.
(*u*) Smith's Hiſtory of the County of Waterford, pag. 60.

pariſh, which comprehends the whole cantred, is called Offerelane, corrupted from Oferlyng, which in Saxon means ſuperior, and is ſynonymous to Upperwoods. Shean might originally have been Sien, the Saxon Seon, the pupil or ſight of the eye, it bearing this analogy to Dunamaſe. The Engliſh ſpoke almoſt pure Saxon in the reign of Henry II. which gives countenance to the preceding conjecture.

Shean caſtle is ſituated on one of thoſe high conical hills, which are ſo common in its vicinity. Though not remarkable for its magnitude it was a place of conſiderable ſtrength; the declivities round it being ſteep and eaſily defended. By the (*w*) record before cited, it appears, that Sir Robert Preſton in the year 1397, held by the law of England, the inheritance of Margaret his late wife the manor of Sion in Liex, of Roger Mortimer, as of his manor of Dunmaſke (Dunamaſe;) it ſhared the revolutions of the latter in the ſubſequent periods of hiſtory; but being neither ſo ſtrong or tenable it eſcaped demolition, and continued for centuries in its priſtine ſtate until it came into poſſeſſion of its preſent occupier, the reverend doctor Charles Coote, dean of Kilfenora.

He has revived Shean with new ſplendor, and added at a vaſt expence, ſuch embelliſhments to its fine ſituation, as make it both an ornament to the country and a delightful reſidence.

(*w*) Tenuit per legem Angliæ de hæreditate Margaritæ, nuper uxoris ſuæ, manerium de Sion in Leix, de Rogero de Mortuomari, ut de manerio ſuo de Donmaſke. Hibernica, pag. 74.

FINIS.

DRUIDISM REVIVED:

OR, A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

CHARACTERS AND MODES

OF

WRITING

USED BY THE

IRISH

IN THEIR PAGAN STATE, AND AFTER THEIR CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.

IT has been much controverted in the Republic of Letters, whether the ancient inhabitants of Ireland, before their converſion to the Chriſtian faith, had the uſe of Letters, or any means of communicating their thoughts in writing. If we give credit to their antiquaries and hiſtorians, no people cultivated learning with ſo much aſſiduity, and that at a period when the Greeks and Romans remained in a ſtate of barbariſm. According to them (*a*), the art of writing was known in this iſland as early as the tenth century before the Chriſtian

 era;

(*a*) O Flaherty, Keating, Toland, Harris, &c.

era; for it is aſſerted, that Ollainſodlah a king of Ireland, about the year of the world 3236, inſtituted the convention of Taragh in the county of Meath, as a college or ſociety to inſpect genealogies, chronicles and hiſtories; whatever paſſed their ſcrutiny was inſerted in a book or regiſter, called the pſalter of Taragh, which for ſeveral ages was conſidered as the grand repoſitory of the archives of the kingdom. This convention however appears to have been the firſt, which publicly cultivated this excellent art; for it is acknowledged that writing was not in general uſe, and the Iriſh did not commit their poems and laws to writing till near 700 years after, that is, in the reign of M'Neſſan king of Ulſter.

Notwithſtanding the circumſtantial account given by the antiquaries and hiſtorians of the middle and latter ages, relative to the learning and civilization of the antient Iriſh, the learned in general have been much divided on this head; as the teſtimonies hitherto given, have rather been poſitive aſſertions, unſupported by proofs and matters of fact, than real hiſtories. For though they have made frequent mention of ſeveral ſpecies of letters and alphabets, made uſe of by the pagan inhabitants of this iſland, yet they have given very few ſpecimens of the characters, and none before their converſion to the Chriſtian faith. And though they alſo make frequent mention of ancient writings or records, from which their more modern hiſtories are ſuppoſed to be taken, few if any of theſe records have come down to our time. To obviate, in ſome meaſure, a circumſtance which might call in queſtion the authenticity

authenticity of their hiſtorical tranſactions, they have alledged, that in the ravages committed by the Danes in the ninth century, the greater part of the books and chronicles were deſtroyed, and the few remaining, during their conteſt with the Engliſh, and the civil wars which rent this unhappy country for near 800 years, were either deſtroyed or carried by the clergy to the continent; but, though diligent enquiry has been made by ſeveral learned perſons, in Spain, Denmark and other countries, no ſuch writings have hitherto been found. Even the moſt authentic Iriſh records, which have in any degree come within the verge of the empire of letters, as the annals of Ulſter, Innisfail, Tigernach, and the pſalter of Caſhel, all of which were written about the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, begin at the fifth and conclude with the tenth, without making the leaſt mention of the pagan ſtate of the Iriſh; if there had at the time of compiling theſe works been any records relative to that period, or any remarkable tradition handed down by the bards, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe they would have mentioned it; but their ſilence on this head may ſerve in a great meaſure, not only to confirm us in the opinion of the learned in general, that the ancient inhabitants of Ireland had not the uſe of letters prior to their converſion to the Chriſtian faith, and that the firſt alphabet this iſland ever ſaw was that of the Latins of the middle ages, introduced by St. Patrick, or ſome other of the Chriſtian miſſionaries, but alſo the aſſertions of moſt of the Greek and Latin writers, as Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Cæſar, Pliny and others. Theſe

writers, ſo far from conſidering the Iriſh of their times a civilized and learned people in general, eſteem them a ſavage and ignorant race; though Ireland, in thoſe periods, muſt have been well known to them, both by reaſon of the trade which the Romans carried on with it, and their remaining ſo many years in Britain. Strabo is the firſt writer of antiquity, who treats with any degree of preciſion of the manners of the old Iriſh; his account differs in no reſpect from thoſe we have at preſent, relative to the ſavage tribes of Indians who perambulate the wilds of America; nay, in ſome of his relations (*b*), he not only aſſerts they were in a barbarous ſtate, but much more ſo than the Britons; and mentions ſeveral of their manners, which would be ſufficient to degrade the moſt ferocious ſavages (*c*). Nor is the teſtimony of Diodorus Siculus (*d*) more favourable than that of Strabo; they were in the days of this writer, ſo far from being civilized by long poſſeſſion of letters and a conſtant cultivation of arts and ſciences, that they were thought to feed on human bodies; a circumſtance poſitively aſſerted by St. Jerom, who ſays that in his younger days, having an occaſion to make a voyage into Gaul, he there ſaw the Scots or Iriſh, a people of Britain, eat human fleſh, though there were found, ſays he, in their foreſts, great herds of ſwine and other cattle (*e*). Even the account given by Pomponius Mela, is extremely unfavourable to a civilization ariſing from a long poſſeſſion of letters; he calls them

(*b*) Strabo, lib. 2.
(*c*) Strabo, lib. 4.
(*d*) Diod. Sicu. lib. 5.
(*e*) Hieronym. adv. Jovin. lib. 2. p. 53.

them a race of men, unpoliſhed, barbarous and ignorant of every virtue (*f*). Nor were they much improved, if we can credit Julius Solinus, about the third century (*g*). Theſe authorities appear ſufficient to overthrow intirely the pretenſion of the Iriſh hiſtorians, relative to the learned ſtate of their pagan anceſtors; as the Britons who, according to Strabo, reſorted to Rome (*h*) could not be ignorant of the internal ſtate of this iſland; and from whom we may reaſonably conclude both Strabo and Mela obtained their information concerning the Iriſh. And in the days of Tacitus, the ports of Ireland were well known (*i*); conſequently, that celebrated hiſtorian could not be ignorant of the real character of its inhabitants. But Solinus had a better opportunity than either Strabo, Mela, or Tacitus, of obtaining information on this ſubject; as in his time, Britain had been a province of the empire at leaſt 200 years. Some communication muſt have been maintained between the two iſlands during that period, and conſequently the Romans could not have remained ignorant of the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants of Ireland.

Sir James Ware, the moſt juſtly eſteemed of all the Iriſh antiquaries, and ever-zealous for the honour of his country, gives not the leaſt credit to the pretenſions of the Iriſh to an alphabet, before their converſion to Chriſtianity; and Nennius ſeems to

(*f*) Pomp. Mela, lib. 4.
(*g*) Solinus. 36.
(*h*) Ἀντιπαιδας γαρ ἡμεις εἴδομεν ἐν Ρώμῃ. Strabo, lib. 4.
(*i*) Tacitus vit. Agric. 24.

to assert, that the use of letters was first taught the Irish by St. Patrick (*k*).

In the ignorance of letters however, if this was really the case, the Irish were in no worse predicament than their neighbours, the Britons and Gauls. For most of the Roman writers, as Cæsar (*l*), Tacitus, Strabo and others constantly maintain, that neither the Gauls, Britons nor Celtes in general were acquainted with letters; but on the contrary, committed their poems, laws and religious tenets to memory only; so that it required of those who entered into the druidic orders, the labour of some years to attain their learning and doctrine, to any degree of perfection. Being accustomed to no other business but arms and the chace, they esteemed it mean and ignoble either to read or write. Elian from Androtion has preserved a remarkable passage on this subject: "There was not, says he, among the ancient Thracians, any one who understood the use of letters; and that in general, all the barbarians established in Europe, looked upon the knowledge of letters as the most mean and shameful thing in the world. An opinion also maintained by the barbarians of Asia." (*m*)

Seeing

(*k*) Sanctus Patricius scripsit Abietoria 365 et eo amplius numero. Nenn. 59.

(*l*) Neque fas esse existimant ea literis mandare, id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur; quod neque in vulgus disciplinam efferri velint; neque eos qui discunt, literis confisos, minus memoriæ studere, quod fere plerisque accidit, ut præsidio literarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. Cæsar, 6. 14.

(*m*) Τῶν Ἀρχαίων Θρακῶν μηδενα ἐπισἀσζαὶ γραμματα ἀλλὰ και ενομιζον ἄισχιστοι ἔιναὶ, πάντες οἱ τὴν Ευρώπην οἰκοῦντες Βάρβαροι, χρῆσθαι γραμμασιν, οἳ δὲ ἐν τῆ Ασιᾳ, ὡς, λογος, εχριῶν το αὐτοις μᾶλλον. Elian. V. H. 8.

Seeing therefore the moſt reſpectable authorities, ancient and modern, agree in excluding not only the Iriſh, but all the Celtic tribes in general from an early knowledge of letters, it may be thought preſumptuous to attempt the eſtabliſhment of a contrary opinion. But we ought not to be deterred by the authority of great names, however reſpectable, from ſearching after truth; for though thoſe whom we have quoted and many others, have declaimed againſt the uſe of letters among the aboriginal inhabitants of Europe, yet there are ſeveral who have maintained the contrary. Laertius in his life of Ariſtotle, and in his diſcourſe on philoſophy, ſays, that the Greeks had the original of their theology, and the moſt ſublime parts of their philoſophy from the druids of the Celtes (*n*). And J. Magnus aſſerts (*o*), that the northern inhabitants of Europe had the art of expreſſing things by writing, long before the Latins invented letters; and that the aboriginals of Italy, whom the Romans expelled on their ſettlement therein, though rude, had the knowledge of letters and taught them to their conquerors. Even the Goths in a very early period, engraved characters or letters on large ſtones,

(*n*) Ap. Laert, de vit. Philo. cap. 1.

(*o*) Ipſos aquilonares omnino caruiſſe ſcriptoribus rerum à ſe magnifice geſtarum, cum longe ante inventas literas Latinas, et antequam carmenta ex Græcia ad oſtia Tyberis, et Romanum ſolum cum Evandro perveniſſit, expulſiſque aboriginibus gentem illam rudem mores et literas docuiſſet. Gothi ſuas literas habuerint, cujus rei indicium præſtant eximiæ magnitudinis ſaxa; quæ literarum formis inſculpta perſuadere poſſint, quod ante univerſale diluvium, vel paulo poſt gigantea virtute ibi erecta fuiſſent. J. Magnus, lib. 1, Hiſt. Sue. cap. 7.

ſtones, which the later inhabitants believe were placed there before the univerſal deluge, or after that event, were erected by giants. Alſo Lindebrogius in his commentaries relates, that Cadmus introduced among the Greeks, letters which reſembled thoſe of the Galathians and the Mæonicii, which letters were the ſame as thoſe of the Phœnicians; from whence he concludes, that before the time of Cadmus, letters, philoſophy, poetry, theology and laws were amongſt the Gauls, Germans (*p*) and moſt other inhabitants of ancient Europe. Even Cæſar, though he aſſerts that neither the druids of the Gauls or Britons committed their doctrine to writing, yet acknowledges, that the merchants on the ſea-coaſts wrote their common affairs in letters, nearly reſembling thoſe of the Greeks (*q*). This aſſertion of Cæſar, though by ſome critics ſuppoſed to be introduced into the text by ſome commentator or tranſcriber, ſeems to be confirmed by Tacitus, who relates that among the Rhetii in Germany, ſeveral monuments and tumuli were to be found in his time, inſcribed with letters not unlike the Greek (*r*). And Strabo informs us, that the Gauls and Britons wrote their letters, contracts, accompts and whatever related to public buſineſs and civil life, in Greek characters (*s*). But the druids would never conſent that they

(*p*) Shedius de dis German. lib. 2. cap. 18.

(*q*) In reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatiſque rationibus, (Græcis) literis utuntur. Cæſar. 6. 14.

(*r*) Monumenta et tumulos quoſdam Græcis literis inſcriptos in confinio Germaniæ Rhetiæque adhuc exiſtere. Tacitus in L. de mor. Germ.

(*s*) Contractus Græcâ oratione ſcribunt. Strabo, lib. 4.

they ſhould commit to writing their laws and hiſtory, much leſs the tenets of their religion, taking all poſſible care to conceal thoſe matters from the people.

From theſe teſtimonies it appears probable, that the Celtic, Sarmatic and Scythic clans, which reſided in the foreſts and wilds of uncultivated Europe, as well as the Egyptians and Phœnicians; had the art of expreſſing their thoughts by means either of characters or letters, at a very early period; and the aſſertion of the Iriſh antiquaries, as before quoted, reſpecting the learning of the ancient inhabitants of this country, though in a ſtate of nature, may not intirely be void of truth; for the faculties of the human mind, in all ages and nations, are nearly the ſame, and a ſtate of barbariſm (for barbarous the ancient inhabitants of all parts of Europe, before their commerce with the Phœnicians, Greeks and Romans, undoubtedly were) doth not exclude reflection and abſtract ideas, from whence ariſe philoſophy and the polite arts.

Egypt is at this time univerſally conſidered, by the learned, to have been the ſource from whence ſprang that light of knowledge and learning, which ſhone with ſuch diſtinguiſhed luſtre in the Greek and Roman empires; ſo as to furniſh the Phœnician traders with letters and learning, ſufficient not only to enable them to become the greateſt navigators at that time in the world, and thereby to be the means of propagating theſe uſeful arts to the remoteſt nations; a circumſtance, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, was really the caſe; for though from the

the quotations and authorities before recited, there is the greateſt probability, that the inhabitants of the weſtern parts of Europe had the knowledge of letters long before the Romans were much acquainted with them, yet we are not to infer, that they had ſuch knowledge, prior to the era, when the Phœnicians by eſtabliſhing colonies on the weſtern coaſts of Iberia, Gaul, and building of Carthage, had extended their commerce to Gaul, Belgium and the Britiſh iſles, about 250 years before the birth of Chriſt, and 200 before the Romans were much acquainted either with Britain or Gaul.

During this commerce it can ſcarce be doubted, that there might be eſtabliſhed on the different coaſts, factories for the greater convenience of trading with the natives for ſkins, furs, tin and ſuch other commodities, as the reſpective countries then produced, and thereby introduce among their philoſophers the knowledge of letters; before which period it is probable, they were intirely ignorant of ſuch alphabetic elements. Theſe authorities, from ſome of the moſt reſpected names of antiquity, are extremely favourable to the general tenor of the Iriſh hiſtories; which relate, that the ancient inhabitants of this iſle, not only received their letters, but alſo ſeveral of their religious ceremonies from the Mileſians; who are ſuppoſed to be a colony of Phœnicians or Carthaginians, from the weſtern coaſts of Spain, in a very early period.

Though the Iriſh chronicles, eſpecially thoſe of the latter ages, are very circumſtantial on this ſubject,

ſubject, yet as they have not produced any authentic authorities, or living proofs to corroborate their aſſertions, their hiſtories hitherto have been conſidered by the learned in general, little better than ingenious fables, the invention of dark and illiterate ages. They do indeed, in ſeveral places, ſpecify the names and order of their ancient pagan letters, but have not given the characters themſelves, having in their ſtead inſerted the Latin letters of the fifth and ſixth centuries; to which they have not only given the names of their pagan, but have alſo annexed ſeveral fanciful interpretations, that have not the leaſt foundation in truth, but aroſe intirely from the imagination of the reſpective writers. Notwithſtanding therefore the probability, from the authorities before quoted, that the Phœnician and Punic traders did introduce letters both into Ireland and Britain, yet the truth muſt ever remain involved in darkneſs and obſcurity, and a doubt muſt ever hang on the aſſertions relative to the learned ſtate of the pagan Iriſh, if we were not in poſſeſſion of living evidence, from ſeveral monuments of antiquity, ſtill remaining in different parts of the kingdom; ſome of which evidently owe their exiſtence to ages prior by ſome centuries, to the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in Ireland. The inſcriptions found on theſe monuments confirm, beyond the power of confutation, the aſſertions of the Iriſh antiquaries, reſpecting the literature of the pagan inhabitants of this country.

By theſe we are impowered to aſſert, that the Iriſh druids had not only the method of committing their doctrine and learning to writing, but that the

the characters and letters made uſe of for this purpoſe, bear not only a great affinity to thoſe of the ancient Phœnicians, Carthaginians and Egyptians, but in ſeveral inſtances are exactly the ſame; as may be ſeen on comparing them with the characters and inſcriptions on the Bembine and Rameſſæan tables. By theſe alſo it appears, that the Hibernian druids, like the Egyptian prieſts, made uſe of both hieroglyphic and alphabetic characters. Their letters alſo, like thoſe of the ancient Egyptians, were of two ſpecies that is, *ſacred* and *prophane*; the prophane were thoſe uſed in the common occurrences of life, public contracts, ordinances of ſtate, poems, &c. and mentioned by antiquaries under the denomination of the *Bobeloth characters*, and were the ſame or nearly ſo, with thoſe of the Punic and Phœnician. The ſacred were thoſe mentioned under the name of *Ogham* and *Ogham Croabh*; theſe letters were mixed with ſymbols and hieroglyphics, in their hiero-grammatic writings, or thoſe which treated of their religion, philoſophy and laws.

The method of deſcribing the human thoughts by the repreſentation of the ſeveral objects of nature, ſeems to have been the firſt effort of the mind towards tranſmitting the knowledge of paſt tranſactions to poſterity. At what period therefore this invention took its riſe is impoſſible to determine; it probably was during the infant ſtate of ſociety, as the practice of writing by means of pictures and ſymbols was univerſal, not only among all the nations of antiquity, but even ſuch among the modern who are in their firſt ſtages of civilization;

for

for not only the ancient Egyptians, Ethiopians, Libyans, Indoſtans, Chineſe, Perſians, Medes, Phœnicians, Syrians, Ionians, Scythians, Sarmatæ and Celtes (*t*) uſed hieroglyphics, but the ancient Mexicans, before their commerce with the Europeans, and even the wandering tribes of North America, to this day draw on the bark of trees, in ſymbolic and hieroglyphic characters, their obſervations on places and things. From the univerſality therefore of this method of depicting the human thoughts, there is ſome probability, that it took its riſe in ages prior to the univerſal deluge, though the progreſs which the antediluvians made therein muſt ever remain an impenetrable ſecret. The rude reſemblance of men, trees, animals, &c. on rocks and ſtones ſeem, from an ancient tradition, to have been the firſt books in which mankind in the moſt early periods, tranſmitted the knowledge of paſt events to future ages (*u*). But the method of deſcribing only ſubſtantives or things, to expreſs the different affections of the mind, being extremely imperfect, as human ideas were enlarged by the advancement of the arts of civil life, the philoſophers, prieſts and legiſlators of the different nations, found it neceſſary to invent other characters to expreſs the abſtract ideas and relative qualities; from whence aroſe the ſeveral ſpecies of ſymbolic writing in univerſal uſe, through every ſtage of the Chineſe, Perſian and Egyptian empires. But as ſymbols required greater efforts of the mind than barely

(*t*) Herodotus, Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 5. p. 567. Olaus Magnus. lib. 1. cap. 2.

(*u*) Herodotus, J. Magnus, Tacitus, &c.

barely hieroglyphics or pictures, they probably were not the invention of barbarous nations, but that all the middle and weſtern countries of the ancient world were indebted for them to the Egyptians; at leaſt all thoſe which have hitherto been diſcovered, belonging to the aboriginal inhabitants of Europe, are found in the Rameſſæan, Bembine, and other tables of Egyptian inſcriptions.

The Iriſh ſymbols, hitherto diſcovered, are by no means numerous, though ſeveral more, moſt probably, may be brought to light by a diligent ſearch into ſuch monuments of antiquity, yet unexplored in ſeveral parts of Ireland; ſome might alſo very probably be found in Britain, if not in France, Spain, Germany and other countries poſſeſſed by the aboriginal inhabitants; at leaſt, it would be worth the labour of the learned, in different parts of Europe, to make the tryal.

Of ſuch Hibernian druidic ſymbols as have come to our knowledge, we have attempted an explanation, according to the beſt authorities, in the order of the annexed table.

No. 1, 2, 3 and 4

Are the traces of ſpiral lines found on ſtones in the tumulus of New-Grange in the county of Meath. Theſe lines appear to be the repreſentation of ſerpents coilled up, and probably were ſymbols of the Divine Being; for ſerpents we are aſſured by Pliny, Tacitus and others, were held in great veneration by not only the Gauls and Celtes in general, but alſo by the Sarmatæ, Scythæ and every other people inhabiting ancient Europe. Even this veneration proceeded ſo far as to induce

the

TABLE I.

Druidic Symbols.

No.	Character.	No.	Character.
1		8	
2		9	
3		10	
4		11	
5		12	
6		13	
7		14	

the people to pay them divine honours; and Gaguinus ſays, that the Lithuanians and Samogithians retained ſerpents as their penates or houſhold gods; the Egyptians alſo uſed a ſerpent as a ſymbolic repreſentation of the Divine Nature and Eternal Wiſdom (*w*); indeed all authors, ſacred and prophane, agree in aſcribing to the ſerpent the ſymbolic repreſentation of wiſdom and eternity, throughout all nations of antiquity. Even Moſes, in his relation of the fall of man, ſeems to inſinuate ſomething myſterious in the ſagacity of this reptile; and St. Paul alludes thereto, where he ſays, *be as wiſe as ſerpents*. The ancients underſtood, undoubtedly much better than the moderns, the real diſpoſition of the brute creation; whilſt the moderns are exploring the different ſpecies of animal organization, the ancients turned their thoughts towards their diſpoſitions and mental properties. The druids of the Celtes ſeem to have been as well verſed in this ſcience as any of their cotemporaries; ſince they invented a ſtory of the ſerpents and their egg, as an allegory, in which they involved the creation of the world and the origin of things, according to Pliny, who has preſerved in his natural hiſtory this curious ſpecimen of Celtic theology (*x*); from whence we may juſtly conclude, that the ſpiral lines found in the tumulus of New-Grange, on a cromleach near Dundalk, and on ſeveral Britiſh coins, are repreſentations of ſerpents and ſymbols of the Divine Being. A circumſtance confirmed by Quintus Curtius, who ſays, the temple of Jupiter Ammon

(*w*) Herodotus, Warburton's Divine Legation.
(*x*) Plin. lib. 19. cap. 11.

Ammon had a rude ſtone, whereon was drawn a ſpiral line, the ſymbol of the Deity. And the cuſtom among the Greeks and Romans of furniſhing the meſſenger of the Gods, Mercury, with a caduceus of twiſted ſerpents, as an emblem of his divine commiſſion, ſeems to be derived from this ancient ſymbol.

No. 5.

Is alſo found in the tumulus at New-Grange, and, as it bears a great reſemblance to the character or ſymbol uſed by the Egyptians to repreſent their goddeſs Iſis, when conſidered as the earth or paſſive principle of nature, it is very probable, that by the druids it was taken in the ſame ſenſe. The Egyptians in their myſteries maintained, that every thing owed its exiſtence to two principles, the one active and the other paſſive; the active principle they underſtood to be fire, which vivifies and nouriſhes the productions of nature *(y)*, and the paſſive the earth, which brings them forth, as the great mother. The firſt they called Apis or Oſiris, or the male principle, and the ſecond Iſis, or the female principle. By a conjunction of theſe, after the manner of animal procreation, not only the Egyptians but the Thracians, Samothracians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians and Celtes (z) believed every production was brought forth and nouriſhed. Whence Heſiod relates, that gods and men are the

(y) Warburton's Divine Legation. Ramſey's Mythology of the Ancients. Herodotus.

(z) Hiſtoire des Celtes, tom. 2. liv. 3. chap. 6.

the iſſue of the marriage of heaven and earth (*a*). The druids diſtinguiſhed the active principle or fire by the name of *tis*, *dis*, or *teut* and *teutates*, that is, the *He* or maſculine principle, who by its action on the earth, whom they conſidered the Mother of Nature, cauſes it to produce the ſeveral ſpecies of animals and vegetables. The earth therefore was the paſſive principle, which in this caſe they frequently called *ops* or *opis*, from the Celtic *op* to cry out, from whence *opeigh* a crier, alluding to the cries of a mother in labour; the earth being ſuppoſed to labour, in bringing forth her various productions, as a woman in child-birth (*b*); whence we may reaſonably conclude, that the Egyptian Oſiris, the Celtic Dis, Tis or Teut were the ſame, and ſignified the univerſal ſpirit or active principle, which the ancients underſtood to be fire; alſo the Egyptian Iſis, the Greek Ceres, and the Celtic Ops were of the ſame import, and repreſented the earth or nature in general. The character therefore we are now ſpeaking of, as it bears ſo great a reſemblance to thoſe in the Bembine tables repreſenting the earth or nature, undoubtedly among the druids was of the ſame ſignification. It ſeems alſo to have been retained by the ancient Iriſh, long after their converſion to Chriſtianity, in the form of No. 6, to repreſent Jeſus Chriſt the Saviour of the World; in which ſenſe it ſtands on all the Iriſh coins.

(*a*) Deorum genus venerandum (Muſæ) imprimis celebrant carminibus, quos ab exordio tellus et latum cœlum genuerunt, quinque ex his prognati ſunt, dii datores bonorum. Heſiod Theog. p. 44

(*b*) Rhea latinis Ops. Auſon. Idyll. 12. p. 114. Nam Ops, terra eſt. Servius ad Æneid, l. 325.

No. 7,

Is a ſort of Trellis-work found on one of the tabernacles at the mount of New-Grange, and on ſeveral ſtones and croſſes both in Ireland and Britain. Trellis-work or ſmall lozenges, amongſt the ancient Britains, Germans and indeed all the aboriginals of Europe, ſignified fate, providence, chance, or fortune. It ſeems to have been derived from a ſpecies of divination uſed by the Scythic and Celtic tribes, conſiſting of long quadrangular pieces of wood taken from fruit trees; theſe pieces had ſeveral ſymbolic characters engraven on them, when, being in the act of divining, they were thrown acroſs; as the ſeveral characters fell and anſwered to each other, the auſpices were taken (*c*). Theſe pieces of wood called by the Scythæ *run-ſtobs* and by the Iriſh *ogham croabh*, that is, the ſtaves and furrows of wiſdom, were retained many centuries after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, and their poſition in divining frequently drawn on croſſes and the walls of churches, as emblems of the Divine Providence; nay, the divination itſelf was retained in ſome parts of England to the preſent century (*d*).

No. 8,

Is a Circle found on ſeveral Iriſh coins. The circle among the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, &c. generally repreſented the Sun and ſometimes the

(*c*) Tacitus Mor. Germ. 37. Verſtegan's Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence.

(*d*) The Scythæ, during their pagan ſtate, writing on ſuch ſquare pieces of wood, called them buckſtobs; whence the German name at preſent for letters is buckſtab.

the World (*e*). With the Celtic druids it alſo repreſented the Sun, and with a dot in the centre, the whole Univerſe. The ancient Iriſh retained it during the middle ages as the ſymbol of a country, and with a point in the centre, for the whole kingdom, or Ireland in general (*f*).

No. 9,

Is found on two ſtone croſſes at Caſtle-dermot in the county of Kildare, and there ſeems to ſtand as a ſymbol repreſenting a ghoſt or ſpirit; it has the power of B in the Bobeloth alphabet, and is there called Boibel or the chief ſpirit. The Egyptians uſed ſuch a character to repreſent a hawk, which was their ſymbol for the ſoul, called Baieth, becauſe the human ſoul by them was ſuppoſed to reſide in the heart (*g*).

No. 10,

Is found on two ſtone croſſes at Caſtle-dermot, and there ſtands for a perſon. The Egyptians uſed this character as the repreſentation of a perſon or man in general, as may be ſeen in the Rameſſæan and Bembine tables; it is alſo ſtill uſed in the ſame ſenſe by the Indians of North-America (*h*).

No. 11,

Is the repreſentation of an arrow, and is found on ſeveral Iriſh and Britiſh coins. The arrow among the Egyptians and Arabs was the ſymbol of hunting; in which ſenſe it probably ſtood among the

(*e*) Warburton's divine Legation.

(*f*) O, literam, nominibus præfigunt optimates Hiberni. Camden.

(*g*) Warburton's divine Legation.

(*h*) Raynal's European Settlements in the Indies, vol. 3. Carver's Travels, &c.

Celtes, and is placed on the coins of their chiefs to expreſs their abilities in the chace.

No. 12,

Is alſo found on ſeveral coins both Britiſh and Iriſh; ſuch a character is found in the Bembine tables repreſenting a ſhield, and was the ſymbol of a commander in war; in which ſenſe it ſeems to have been uſed by the Celtes in general.

No. 13,

Is found on ſeveral Iriſh coins; ſuch a character is found in a number of Egyptian inſcriptions, where it is the ſymbol for a king, judge or governor; in which ſenſe it ſeems to have been uſed by the ancient Iriſh.

No. 14,

Is found in the tumulus at New-Grange, and probably is the ſymbol of a houſe or habitation. The Egyptians uſed a character nearly reſembling this in the ſame ſenſe, as may be ſeen on one of the obeliſks of Cleopatra.

In the explanation of Numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the above ſymbols, it may be objected, that there being no ſerpents in Ireland, the Iriſh druids could not have taken that reptile as the ſymbol of the Divine Being; but we ought to conſider that the Celtic religion was not confined to any particular country, but maintained by all the aboriginal inhabitants of Europe; being the religion not only of the ancient Iriſh, but of the ancient Britons, Gauls, Cimbri, Celto-Iberians, Italians and Thracians; it likewiſe laid the foundation of that of the Greeks and Romans.

By

By the few characters hitherto diſcovered it is extremely probable, that the weſtern Celtic tribes as well as the Iriſh received their ſymbols from the Carthaginian and Phœnician traders; though poſſibly they might have had ſome ſort of hieroglyphic writing in an earlier period; however, it is more than probable, that the uſe of letters was not known among them long before the Punic merchants viſited their coaſts.

The invention of letters or alphabetic characters have by ſome been placed prior to that of hieroglyphics and ſymbols; but if we conſider, that they were the laſt effort of the human mind, in order to accompliſh an effectual method of tranſmitting the ideas to future ages, we ſhall be inclined to place their diſcovery in much later periods. If they had been the invention of the antediluvians, or of equal ſtanding with hieroglyphics, as ſome learned perſons have imagined, all the nations of the earth would moſt probably have been converſant with them, whereas the contrary is ſufficiently evinced. All the ſocieties of mankind, in the different periods of time, at a certain ſtage of civilization, had the method of expreſſing their thoughts by hieroglyphics if not ſymbols; but letters were confined among the ancients as among the moderns, to not only a particular, but in a great meaſure the very ſame part of the globe. The only nations of antiquity who underſtood this divine art, were the Egyptians, the Libyans, the Ethiopians, the Arabians, the Indoſtans, the Medes, the Perſians, the Syrians, the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, the Celtæ, the weſtern Scythæ, the Greeks and Romans; compre-

comprehending the preſent Europe, the north and north-eaſt parts of Africa, and the ſouth and weſtern parts of Aſia; the only part, of the world at this day which have the knowledge of alphabet characters, except the European colonies in America and Africa, within the laſt century.

Egypt therefore, as ſhe was the parent of the ſeveral arts and ſciences which illuminated the ancient world, probably gave birth to letters; a circumſtance not only confirmed by the aſſertion of ſeveral of the Greek and Latin writers (*i*), but further evinced from the remarkable ſimilarity between all the alphabets of antiquity; for the letters contained in the ancient Ethiopic, Arabic, Malabarian, Chaldaic, Samaritan, Phœnician, Punic, Etruſcan, Cuphic, Greek and Runic alphabets ſhow evident ſigns of being derived from one common origin; and ſeveral of them, in each alphabet, are actually found as ſymbols and hieroglyphics, not only in the Rameſſæan and Bembine tables, but in ſeveral inſcriptions diſcovered in the pyramids. To the Egyptians therefore are we indebted for the invention of letters, which they took from their hieroglyphic and ſymbolic characters; but the time they made this important diſcovery cannot be determined; it was probably in a very early period; for Moſes, who was ſkilled in all the learning and wiſdom of the Egyptians, wrote in alphabetic characters, which he undoubtedly obtained from thence, though they have been long ſince loſt; the preſent Hebrew letters not being the

(*i*) Des Vignols Chron. tome 2 Arundel tables.

the ſame in which the Pentateuch was originally written. But in whatever period Egypt made a diſcovery ſo beneficial to the human race in general, it ſeems to have been the ſource from which letters proceeded in three diſtinct channels through the ancient world. The firſt, taking a northern courſe, watered the weſtern parts of Aſia, and the eaſtern, ſouthern and midland parts of Europe. The ſecond proceeding weſtward, enlightened the northern parts of Africa, and in proceſs of time, in conjunction with the firſt, the weſtern coaſts of Europe; whilſt the third, being thrown in a ſouth and eaſt direction, furniſhed the Ethiopians, Arabians and Indians, with the ineſtimable art. The Egyptian letters, eſpecially during the middle ages of their empire, conſiſted of three ſpecies, that is the literal, the epiſtolary and hiero-grammatic. In the firſt were written their ſcientific works, as philoſophy and laws; in the ſecond, their common occurrences of life, and in the third, their religious ſubjects (*k*). The ſeveral people who viſited that country, having been inſtructed in theſe methods of writing by the prieſts, introduced them into their own; where they not only were retained for the aforeſaid purpoſes, but from them and the ſymbolic characters new alphabets were formed, in which the ſeveral ſpecies of the Egyptian letters were found, cauſing thereby the letters of the ſeveral nations, though derived from a common origin, to be materially different from each other.

Moſes may be conſidered the father of the northern branch, and the firſt who brought letters into

(*k*) Warburton's divine Legation.

into the weſtern parts of Aſia, though they ſeem to have made no conſiderable progreſs for ſome time, being confined to the Jewiſh nation. It was not until about the fourteenth century before the Chriſtian era, when the Canaanites, who fled from Joſhua and retired into Egypt, had been expelled that country by Amoſis, and ſettled in Phœnice, that we may date the general introduction of letters into the weſtern parts of Aſia (*l*); from Phœnice they proceeded to the Syrians, Ionians and Medes, and were probably thoſe characters mentioned by Pliny, under the name of eternal letters, being the foundation of the Phœnician, Samaritan, Ionian and Chaldaic alphabets. In the beginning of the eleventh century before Chriſt, the Phœnicians and Syrians, flying under the conduct of Cadmus and other captains from David, introduced letters into Greece and the adjacent countries (*m*); about three hundred years after Cadmus had thus introduced letters, muſic and poetry among the Greeks, the Medes revolting from the Aſſyrians, numbers were obliged to ſeek an aſſylum in the ſouthern and mid-land parts of Europe, where they were known for ſeveral ages by the name of Sarmatæ or Sar-Madæ, that is deſcendants of the Medes (*n*); theſe people, who had obtained the uſe of letters about four hundred years before their ſettlement in Europe, probably introduced them among the Celtic and Scythic tribes of the middle regions; where after undergoing

(*l*) Newton's Chronology.

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) They were ſo called by the Hebrews. Pezron's Antiquities of Nations. Hiſtoire des Celtes, tom. 1.

undergoing ſeveral changes and alterations by the ſeveral clans, laid the foundation of the Runic alphabet, and the ſeveral ſpecies of letters uſed by the Goths and Saxons, before their converſion to the Chriſtian faith, mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus and other writers on the antiquities of the northern nations. In the mean time, the Cadmæan letters being ſomewhat altered by the Pelaſgians and other aboriginals of the country (*o*), were by the Ionians and Phoceans, on their eſtabliſhment of the colonies of Etruria and Maſſilia, about the forty-fifth olympiad, introduced into Italy, thereby laying the foundation of the Etruſcan, Maſſilian and Rhætic alphabets (*p*); for which reaſon Cæſar and Tacitus obſerve, that the Gauls and Rhætæ of their times, had letters reſembling the Greeks; and Pliny aſſerts, that it was the received opinion that all the European nations had their letters from the Ionians (*q*).

The third branch, from the great ſource of learning proceeding weſtward, ſettled in the northern parts of Africa among the Lybians; where in proceſs of time, an alphabet was formed ſomewhat different from any of the others; the characters belonging to this alphabet are ſtill preſerved in ſome

(*o*) Diod. Sicul. l. 3. 140.

(*p*) See note (*q*) and (*r*), page 168.

(*q*) Gentium conſenſus tacitus primus omnium conſpiravit, ut Ionum literis uterentur. Plin. l. 7. 57. Strabo, l. 4. 181.

The Romans appear to have received the Ionian letters from the Etruſcans, about the 400th year of their city, and 354 before Chriſt; as in their 391ſt year, they had the cuſtom of placing a nail in the capitol, to aſcertain the number of years from the foundation of Rome. Liv. l. 7. 3.

ſome antique inſcriptions, found in Sicily, mentioned by Mr. Brydone in his Tour through that iſland, and there called the Chaldaic; they are not Chaldaic but the ancient Libyan (*r*). The Phœnicians, on their eſtabliſhment at Carthage under Dido, mixed their letters with the Libyan, whence the Punic alphabets were in ſeveral inſtances different from the ancient Phœnician, and nearly the ſame as the Maſſilian, which had obtained ſeveral Libyan letters, from their commerce with theſe people. From the Maſſilians the Gauls received their letters, which on the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion, being mixed with the Etruſcan, laid the foundation of the Latin alphabets of the middle ages. On the conqueſt of Spain by the Carthaginians, the compound Punic alphabet was introduced into that country; where it ſeems to have taken place in the commercial affairs of the ancient Iberians, which probably was the ſame as the Libyan, and that mentioned by Strabo, who ſays (*s*), that the prieſts of the Iberians had the art of writing very early. From Spain, letters probably were introduced, by means of the Iberian and Gallic merchants, ſome few years before the birth of Chriſt, into the Britiſh iſles.

For, from the aſſertions of Strabo, Ptolemy and others, there is the greateſt probability that Ireland was not unknown to the Phœnician merchants ſoon after the conqueſt of Spain by the Carthaginians; but what ſettlement they made therein we have not any

(*r*) The language of theſe inſcriptions appears to be the Punic or Phœnician.

(*s*) Strabo, l. 3. 139.

any authentic information; as the benefit of trade with this iſland, at that time, could not be great, conſiſting only of ſkins and fiſh, they probably made only temporary and occaſional viſits, whilſt Britain remained their chief place of rendezvous, by reaſon of its tin, a commodity in much requeſt with the ſouthern nations of antiquity. Britain therefore may be conſidered as the grand factory of theſe traders in this part of the world, and where they had the greateſt opportunity of introducing letters, arms, commerce and religion among the natives; which improvements might be in ſucceeding ages brought into this country by the Britiſh colonies, who fled from the terror of the Roman arms; if they were not introduced by the Gallic and Iberian merchants, who, on the conqueſt of Spain and Gaul by the Romans, carried on an extenſive trade to Ireland ſome few years before the Chriſtian era, as we are aſſured by Tacitus; who aſſerts, that in his time the ports of Ireland were better known to foreign merchants than thoſe of Britain (*t*). In ſome of the moſt ancient Iriſh poems, the arrival of theſe ſtrangers on the Hibernian coaſts is frequently mentioned, to whom ſubſequent writers have attributed the introduction of letters and ſeveral other arts of civil life; in conſequence of which, they aſſert, that the firſt grammar of the Iriſh tongue was written ſome few years before the birth of Chriſt by Forchern, who in the compilation, uſed the Bobeloth character, which they eſteem the moſt ancient form of letters uſed in

(*t*) Tacitus vit. Agric.

in Ireland (*u*). The names and order of theſe letters have been preſerved by the latter writers, eſpecially by Ceanfaolidh, an author of the ſeventh century, who is ſaid to have tranſcribed and illuſtrated Forchern's grammar; but whether Ceanfaolidh in his tranſcript made uſe of Forchern's characters, or thoſe of the Latins then in general uſe throughout the iſland, we are not informed; but which ever might have been uſed for this purpoſe, the form of the Bobeloth characters have undoubtedly been loſt for ſeveral centuries, as none of the writers of the latter ages give the leaſt ſpecimen of them.

As little ſatisfaction therefore as the bare names and order of letters muſt be, without the characters themſelves, yet they have been the means of ſupplying the defect and negligence of former antiquaries; and have enabled us, from a number of antient inſcriptions found in different parts of the kingdom, and from ſome MSS. to give the Bobeloth characters complete, as far at leaſt as concerns the alphabet, in the annexed table.

By this table it appears, that the ancient Bobeloth characters of the Iriſh were all ſymbols, and bear a great affinity to the Phœnician and Punic, as will be fully ſhown in the examination of each particular letter.

The name of the firſt is *boibel* or *bobel*, which in the old Celtic, Iriſh and Punic tongues ſignifies the chief ſpirit or ghoſt, from *bo*, *boi* or *boe* a ghoſt or apparition, and *bel* a chief or lord; from whence *Bal* or *Baal* in the Canaanitiſh, and *Beal* in the Iriſh,

(*u*) O Flaherty, Keating, &c.

TABLE II.

BOBELOTH Alphabet.

Character	Power	Name
	B	Boibel
	L	Loth
	F	Forann
	S	Salia
	N	Neiagadon
	H	Uiria
	D	Daibhoith
	T	Teilmon
	C	Caoi
	CC	Cailep
	M	Moiria
	G	Gath
	Ng	Ngoimar
	J	Jdra
	R	Ruiben
	A	Acab
	O	Ose
	U	Ura
	E	Esu
	I	Jaickim
	ui	##_ao_
	io	O_oi_

Iriſh, the general name among the Carthaginians for God. This character was uſed by the Egyptians as the repreſentation of a hawk and the ſymbol for the ſoul, as we have before obſerved; and as a B, is found on a ſtone croſs at Caſtle-dermot.

The ſecond letter of the Bobeloth alphabet has the power of L, and is called *loth*; which was of the ſame import in the Phœnician and Punic tongues, as *lo* in the Celtic, and *loi* in Iriſh, which ſignifies light, the day, and ſometimes figuratively the ſun (*w*). The Egyptians as well as the Thracians and Celtes in general, repreſented the ſun or light by a ſingle pillar (*x*); that of the Egyptians was in the ſame form as this letter, as appears from the Rameſſæan tables. This character is found as an L on one of the croſſes at Caſtle-dermot, and in the Libyan alphabet.

The third letter is called *forann* and has the power of F. *Foran* or *furan* ſignifies in the ancient Celtic, a cunning and ſkilful man in any art or ſcience, figuratively a ſharper or thief. This letter has great affinity to the Punic F, and as ſuch is found on one of the croſſes at Caſtle-dermot.

The fourth letter is *ſalia*, and has the power of S. *Salia*, in the old Celtic and Punic, ſignifies a wave, from *ſal* to leap (*y*), by reaſon waves are conſtantly in motion; whence figuratively the ſea. The Egyptians and Arabs uſed this character for water, and is the ſame as the Phœnician S placed in a different

(*w*) Hiſtoire des Celtes. Eſſai ſur le langue Celtique.
(*x*) Pezron on the Antiquities of Nations.
(*y*) Pezron on Nations.

different direction; and as ſuch is found on a croſs at Caſtle-dermot and in ſome ancient MSS.

The fifth letter is called *neigadon* and has the power of N. *Neigadon* in the ancient Phœnician, if not in the Celtic, ſignifies a ruler or governor. This character was uſed by the Egyptians as the repreſentation of an eagle, and the ſymbol for a king, as may be ſeen on the Bembine tables, and is only the Phœnician N inverted. This letter is found on a croſs at Caſtle-dermot, where with ſome additional ſtrokes, it is become a contraction for *laim* or *lain* the hand.

The ſixth is called *uiria*, and has the power of H. *Uiria* in the Phœnician language ſignifies a ſervant or ſlave; what relation the character has to that name doth not appear, but it is evidently derived from the Phœnician H, to which it has a great affinity, wanting only the tranſverſe lines. The Phœnician *H* bears ſome reſemblance to a chair inverted; whether the Egyptians uſed a chair as the ſymbol of ſlavery is not certain. This letter is found in an inſcription at Freſhford in the county of Kilkenny.

The ſeventh has the power of D, and is called *Daibhoith* or *Dhaibhaith*, that is, the wiſdom of God; from the Punic and Egyptian *Dhi* God and *baeith* a ſoul, ſpirit or wiſdom. The character repreſents a ſerpent, which we have obſerved before, was the ſymbol of the Divine Nature; it is the Libyan D, which was afterwards introduced into the Latin alphabets of the middle ages with ſome alterations. This letter is found on a ſtone at Dunbrody Abby, and on ſeveral Britiſh coins, which are evidently older

older than the introduction of Chriſtianity into that iſle.

The eighth has the power of T, and is called *teilmon* or *teilmen*, that is, the ſtone of power, from *men*, in the Libyan and old Celtic, a ſtone, and *teil* or *tal* of power (z). The Libyans and all the Celtes, Phœnicians and Egyptians uſed large upright ſtones as the ſimulacres of God and fire; whence this character is, in the Beithluiſnon alphabet, called *tienne* or fire. This character nearly reſembles the Punic T, and is found on a croſs at Caſtle-dermot.

The ninth has the power of C, and is called *caoi*, which in the Phœnician tongue ſignifies a hand, to which the character has a great reſemblance; the two upper lines repreſenting the fingers and thumb, and the other, part of the arm. The Hebrews called their C, *caph* or the hollow of the hand. This letter is found on a croſs at Caſtle-dermot and is only the Phœnician C inverted.

The tenth is called *cailep*, and has the power of CC, which is in Iriſh pronounced nearly like G hard in Engliſh. *Cailep* ſignifies a double hand, and is only two *caois* joined together. The character nearly reſembles the Etruſcan K reverſed, and is the ſame as the Runic. It is found on a croſs at Caſtle-dermot, where it is a contraction for *caſh* or a foot.

The eleventh is called *moiria*, and has the power of M. *Moira* or *mora* ſignifies a ſhip, from *mor* in the Celtic, which is the ſea. This character is the ſame

(z) Pezron's Antiquities.

ſame as the ancient Canaanitiſh and Libyan M reverſed, as is found in an inſcription in Sicily; it is alſo found in the tumulus at New-Grange, and on a ſtone at Dunbrody Abby.

The twelfth has the power of G, and is called *gath* or *gagh*, which in the old Iriſh, Celtic and Phœnician ſignifies a ſword or battle-ax. The character is evidently the ancient battle-ax, and the ſame as the Greek *gamma*, and nearly reſembles the Punic G, which was the Saracenic Gh. This character is found in ſome ancient MSS, where it is a contraction for *gagh* or ſpear.

The thirteenth is called *ngoimar*, and hath the power of Ng, which in the Iriſh has the ſame ſound as the *digamma* of the Greeks. *Ngoimar* or *ngamar* in the old Celtic and Phœnician ſignifies an anchor or brace; it is the Etruſcan N, and is found on a croſs at Caſtle-dermot, where it is an N.

The fourteenth is called *idra*, and has the power of J. It is not certain what *idra* ſignifies in the Phœnician, but the character is evidently the J or Y of thoſe people, and was found at the ruins of a church near Athy, and alſo on a tomb-ſtone at Caſtle-dermot, which appears to be as old as the tenth century.

The fifteenth has the power of R, and is called *ruiben*, that is, the round head; from the old Celtic *rui* or *roui*, round; and *ben* or *pen*, a head; to which the character has ſome reſemblance, and is evidently the Phœnician R, and might be the ſame as the ancient Hebrew R, as the more modern Hebrew letter of this power is called *reſch*, which alſo ſignifies a head. The character appears among the

the Egyptians to have been a ſymbol, as it frequently occurs in the Bembine tables and Florentine obeliſk. As an R, it is found on a tomb at Caſtledermot, and in an inſcription in the old cathedral of Down.

The ſixteenth is called *acab*, and has the power of A. *Acab* or *agabh* in the old Phœnician and Punic ſignifies a plough, in which ſenſe and that of agriculture, this character ſtands on the Rameſſæan tables. It is the character from whence is derived the Etruſcan and Roman A, and is found in ſome Iriſh MSS. as a contraction for Ar.

The ſeventeenth is called *oſe*, and has the power of O. The character is the ſame as the Phœnician O, and as a ſymbol is found in the Bembine tables; it is alſo found in ſeveral Iriſh MSS. joined with an N, and is a contraction for NO.

The eighteenth has the power of U, and is called *ura*, which in the Phœnician ſignifies a ram, to the head of which animal the character has ſome reſemblance; among the Egyptians it was the ſymbol for the ſpring and paſtoral life. As an U, it is found in ſome manuſcripts mixed with the Latin Hibernian characters.

The nineteenth has the power of an E, and is called *eſu*, which ſignifies in the Phœnician the beaſts of the foreſt in general; in which ſenſe and that of hunting, the character placed in a different direction, ſtands in the Bembine tables. It is evidently derived from the Phœnician and Etruſcan Es, and is found in ſeveral MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The twentieth has the power of I, and is called *iachim*, which ſignifies a ladder or ſteps; the Egyptians uſed this character to repreſent a ſcaling ladder, and the ſymbol for a ſiege and architecture in general; as is ſeen in the Rameſſæan tables. The character is the old Phœnician and Etruſcan I, which was preſerved in the Britiſh Latin alphabet until the laſt century. It is probable this character belonged to the ancient pagan Britiſh alphabet, if not to that of the Saxon.

Theſe are all the letters given by Antiquaries, as belonging to the Bobeloth alphabet, and are evidently derived from the Phœnician or Punic, and were probably the commercial letters of thoſe people. The order of the Bobeloth alphabet differs indeed materially from all thoſe of antiquity, except the ancient Libyan, between which and the Bobeloth there is a remarkable conformity; eſpecially in the vowels, which in both, are placed at the end, contrary to the orientals, Greeks, Latins and Etruſcans. This alphabet was probably the ſame as the ancient Britiſh, mentioned but not ſpecified by the learned Mr. Whitaker, in his hiſtory of Mancheſter; and appears to be the vulgar one uſed by the Hibernian druids in their common occurrences of life; who from them, after the manner of the ancient Egyptians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Libyans and indeed by all the learned nations of antiquity, invented ſeveral ſpecies of ſacred characters to be uſed with their ſymbols in their hiero-grammatic writings; in order to prevent their being read either by thoſe of the lower claſſes,

claſſes, or by ſuch of the people who underſtood the uſe of letters.

Theſe ſacred characters have been much ſpoken of by antiquaries, under the denomination of Ogham. O Flaherty and Harris, in the ſecond volume of his edition of Ware, have given ſeveral ſpecimens of them; and Sir James Ware relates, that he had a book written in them on parchment. Theſe characters they aſſert were of three ſpecies, that is, the Ogham Croabh, the Ogham Beith, and the Ogham Coll or Colt, and were uſed by the druids in the time of paganiſm; alſo by the kings on their coins, &c. after the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion in the country. They have however been looked upon by the learned in general in no other light than cyphers, invented by the monks of the latter ages; and probably would not have merited any further conſideration, if they were not actually found on ſeveral ancient coins, dug up in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and in ſome of the inſcriptions at New-Grange. By theſe it appears, that the ancient Ogham conſiſted only of two ſpecies, that is, the Ogham and Ogham Croabh.

The Ogham was the ſacred alphabetic characters of the druids, ſo called from the Punic word Ochum or Hogham, which ſignifies wiſdom; by reaſon that all the wiſdom of the druids was written in theſe characters. The names of the letters of the Ogham alphabet have been loſt for ſeveral ages, but the characters themſelves are preſerved in ſome of the inſcriptions in the tumulus at New-Grange, in the old cathedral of Down, on one of the croſſes at Caſtle-dermot, and on ſeveral Britiſh coins.

They ſeem to be the characters from whence, in the middle ages, the Chriſtian clergy invented a new alphabet, which they uſed in eccleſiaſtical affairs, known in after ages by the name of church text. The Ogham characters, as drawn rudely on ſtones we have given in table 3.

The Ogham Croabh characters were all upright lines, and appear to be derived from upright ſtones, the conſtant ſimulacres of God and fire amongſt all nations of antiquity. They were called Ogham Croabh, or the furrows of wiſdom, from the Punic *ogham* wiſdom, and the Celtic *croabh* a furrow, and not as has been interpreted by the monks of the latter ages, the *ſecret branch.*

As the Ogham and Ogham Croabh are words of foreign extraction, probably the characters under theſe denominations were not the invention of the Hibernian druids, but the ſacred characters of the Punic, Phœnician and Egyptian prieſts, if not of all the heathen prieſts of antiquity; for Herodotus aſſures us, that the Greeks and Ionians wrote in characters compoſed intirely of right lines; and they are actually found in ſeveral Egyptian inſcriptions. The Goths alſo wrote in ſtraight lines called by them *run-rhets* or furrows of wiſdom.

From the druidic Ogham Croabh, the Iriſh of the middle and latter ages invented ſeveral others. The firſt is found on the ancient Iriſh coins, and ſeems to be derived from the ſticks of divination, mentioned in the explanation of the ſeventh ſymbol, which were ſometimes called the divine-branches; from whence the writers of the latter ages have imagined *ogham croabh* ſignified the ſecret-branch.

The

TABLE III.

Oghams.

Ogham Characters.

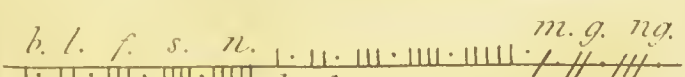
b. v. f. l. s. n. d. t. c. m. y.

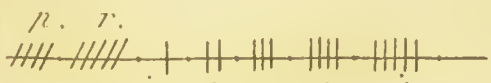
r. a. o. u. e. i. æ. ui. ái. ié.

Ogham Croabh Characters.

Druidic.		On Coins.	
	a. b. g. h.	II	a. b. h. m.
	o. l. d. ng.	III	o. l. d. g.
	u. f. t. q.	IIII	u. f. t. ng.
	e. s. c. r.	IIIII	e. s. c. p.
	i. n. m.	IIIIII	i. n. q. r.

Given by O Flaherty, Harris &c.





ui. p. ae.

oi. oi.

ua. ui.

ia. ei.

io.

TABLE IV.

Bethluisnon Alphabet.

Character.	Power	Name	
	B	Beith	
	L	Luis	
	N	Nuin or Noin	
	F	Fearan	
	S	Suil	
	D	Duir	
	T	Tinne	
	C	Coll or Colt	
	M	Muim	
	G	Gort	
	P	Poth	
	R	Ruis	
	A	Ailim	
	O	On	
	U	Ux	
	E	Eactha	
	I	Joda	
	gh		
	sh		cum
	cr. gr		agus
	or		no
	ch		us
	co		agh, egh &c.
	uille		con
	Peaca		lus
. . h	-dha		oi . . ui

The power of this Ogham appears to be taken from the Latin alphabet, but in the order of the Bobeloth; which in ſome meaſure evinces, that it was formed after the introduction of Chriſtianity into the iſle.

The ſecond is that given by Harris in his ſecond volume of Ware, and ſhows the foundation of the others, eſpecially the laſt; and was undoubtedly formed from the Hibernian Latin characters, in the order of the Bobeloth; the diphthongs of this Ogham ſeem to have belonged originally to the Bobeloth alphabet.

Theſe are the principal, if not all the alphabetic characters, known to the ancient pagan inhabitants of this iſle, ſome contractions excepted; for we ſhall not ſpeak here of the Ogham Beith and Ogham Coll, they being only cyphers, invented in the latter ages; thoſe who are deſirous of conſulting them, may ſee them explained in the ſecond volume of Harris's Ware. It will not however be improper to take notice of another alphabet, mentioned by ſeveral antiquaries under the name of the Beithluiſnon, and which they aſſert was the ſecond pagan alphabet, and contained only ſeventeen letters; the names of theſe letters they have given, but not any of the characters, inſtead of which, as in the Bobeloth, they have annexed the Latin characters of the middle ages. On diligent enquiry, we have been able only to diſcover the Beithluiſnon characters on two ſtone croſſes at Caſtle-dermot in the county of Kildare, though an ancient croſs at Sletty in the Queen's county appears to have been inſcribed with them, but now too much defaced

faced by time to be decyphered. By theſe it appears, that the Beithluiſnon owes its origin to the monks of the middle ages, who compoſed it from the Hebrew, Greek and Arabic alphabets, as an Abraxas or ſecret character wherein to write their charms and incantations; for the ancient inhabitants of Europe, in their pagan ſtate, were much given to theſe ſpecies of magic; and after their converſion to the Chriſtian faith, retained an unconquerable paſſion, not only for theſe, but for a number of their other heathen ſuperſtitions. Even though the canons frequently condemned ſuch practices, yet the very clergy in the middle ages, made no ſcruple of ſelling to the people charms and taliſmans written in unknown characters. The Saxons, Germans and others of the Scythæ, uſed their Runic characters for this purpoſe, which on the introduction of the Latin had become obſolete; but the Iriſh ſtill retaining their Bobeloth characters intermixed with the Latin in their common occurrences of life, had not this reſource; they were therefore obliged to invent new ones; for this purpoſe the oriental alphabets ſupplied them with every neceſſary material, for, by taking ſome of the characters from one alphabet, and ſome from another, and new modelling them according to their minds, they compoſed a ſet of letters really inexplicable to the body of the people, and indeed to any one not initiated into their myſteries. We muſt not expect therefore much conformity in the Beithluiſnon, between the names and characters. *Beith* is evidently a corruption from the Hebrew *beth*, and is only that letter deprived of its head;

luis

luis is only the Latin and Tuſcan L, and ſeems derived from the Arabic *lam*; *nuin* is the Arabic *nun*; *fearan* is the Bobeloth *forann*, only adapted to the more modern orthography; *ſuil* or *ſail* is only a corruption from the Bobeloth *ſalia*, the character is the Arabic Ze reverſed; *duir* is evidently taken from the Hebrew *daleth*; *tinne*, which in Iriſh ſignifies fire, repreſents the druidic ſymbol for that element, and is the ſame as the Bobeloth *teilmon*, which we have ſhown before ſignified the ſame thing; *coll* or *colt* ſeems to be an arbitrary name, the character is derived from the Latin and Tuſcan Cs; *muim*, both in name and character, is evidently derived from the Arabic *mim* or *mem*; *gort* ſeems to be an arbitrary name, the character is evidently derived from the Hebrew *gimel* or Arabic *gain*; *poth* is probably arbitrary both in name and character; *ruis* appears to be derived from the Arabic *re* or Hebrew *reſh*; *ailim* is evidently derived from the Arabic *elim* or *elif*; *on* is derived from the Arabic *un* or *ain*; *ux* appears to be arbitrary, the character is from the Tuſcan U; *eactha* ſeems to be from the Arabic *elif*; *joda* is evidently derived from the Hebrew *yod* or Greek *iota*.

Theſe are the letters which antiquaries have given, as belonging to the Beithluiſnon characters; for H as an aſpirate, was made by a point placed over the aſpirated letter, as was done in the modern Iriſh; ſeventeen letters therefore are ſufficient to expreſs every ſound in the Iriſh tongue, though the Latin alphabet, which the Chriſtian miſſionaries introduced into Ireland in the fifth century and which became the vulgar character throughout the iſland,

iſland, even down to the ſeventeenth, conſtantly retained twenty.

During the fourth, fifth and ſixth centuries, the prieſts, who were ſent to propagate the Chriſtian faith amongſt the northern inhabitants of Europe, carried with them not only the Latin tongue but alſo the letters uſed during thoſe periods, in Italy and other ſouthern countries; which characters were evidently derived from the ancient Etruſcan mixed with the Punic and Libyan; and which, in proceſs of time, laid the foundations of moſt of the alphabets uſed in the ſeveral countries of Europe during the middle ages, as the Iriſh, Saxon, German and Gallic.

The letters therefore uſed by the Iriſh, both in their manuſcripts and printed books, down to the laſt century, were the Latin characters, introduced by St. Patrick or ſome other of the Chriſtian miſſionaries, and were the ſame as thoſe uſed through the greateſt part of Europe during the middle ages; for which reaſon Nennius aſſerts, that the Iriſh were taught their Abietoria by St. Patrick (*a*); an aſſertion from which Bolandus, Ware and Innes, ſupported by the authority of Tirechan, a writer of the ſeventh century, have imagined, that the ancient Iriſh had not the uſe of letters prior to their acquaintance with the light of the goſpel (*b*). But theſe learned antiquaries ought to have conſidered, that

(*a*) Sanctus Patricius ſcripſit Abietoria 365, et eo amplius numero. Nennius 59.

(*b*) Unde conſtat opinor, Abietoria ſignificare alphabetum, ſive elementa quæ ſcripſit et docuit Sanctus Patricius. War. de ſcript. Hibern. l. 2.

that as the Greek alphabet was called *alphabeta*, from the three firſt letters, and the ancient Iriſh *Bobeloth* from the two firſt, ſo was the Latin of the middle ages frequently called *abietoria* or *abicetoria*, from beginning with *a b c* (vide the fifth table). Though the Chriſtian Hibernian characters are evidently derived from the Latin, yet they have been cruelly diſtorted and mangled in their order and names by the monks of the latter ages, who having loſt the form of their Bobeloth and Bethluiſnon, applied their names to the Abicetoria, which they put in the order of thoſe ancient characters; but even not content with thus disfiguring them, in order to give them the greater appearance of antiquity, hearing from ſome of their poems and chronicles that the ancient Iriſh wrote upon wood and the bark of trees, imagined their letters bore the names of trees; in conſequence of which they have interpreted the names of the Bethluiſnon to ſignify ſo many trees, though they have no ſuch ſignification in any language upon earth; from whence alſo, Bobeloth has been interpreted the Wooden Row; an inſtance of the ignorance and impoſition of the monks and antiquaries of the latter ages.

Seeing the Iriſh and Britons not only before their converſion to the Chriſtian faith, but even before their commerce with the Romans, had the method of expreſſing their thoughts by means of letters and characters, in common with the other aboriginal inhabitants of Europe; how are we to reconcile ſuch improvements with the aſſertions of the Roman hiſtorians, who have conſtantly maintained, that none of the barbarians of Europe had the uſe of letters,

letters, as we have before quoted? This ſeeming difficulty however, will in a great meaſure be overcome, if we conſider that not only letters but all knowledge whatever, among the ancient inhabitants of Europe, was intirely confined to a ſet of people diſtinguiſhed by the name of druids; theſe, ſo far from communicating their knowledge and learning to the people in general, took all poſſible care to conceal them; alledging, that neither conſcience nor religion permitted the laity to read, and that the memory would be greatly impaired if they began to commit their thoughts to writing, for no perſon would be at the trouble of learning by heart what they could find in every book (*c*); beſides their inſtructions being only for thoſe initiated into the myſteries of the laws and religion of the country, they ought to be held intirely ſecret, and that it would be really a ſacrilege to commit them to public writing, becauſe after that it would be impoſſible to prevent their doctrine from falling into the hands of ſtrangers. So great an effect had this artful inſinuation on the minds of the people, that for ſeveral years after their commerce with the Greeks and Romans, nay after their converſion to the Chriſtian faith, they were ſo far from receiving the knowledge of letters with that avidity their utility deſerved, that they conſtantly neglected and even refuſed to become acquainted with

(*c*) Neque fas eſſe exiſtimant ea literis mandare . . . . . id mihi duabus de cauſis inſtituiſſe videntur; quod neque in vulgus diſciplinam efferri velint; neque eos qui diſcunt, literis confiſos, minus memoriæ ſtudere, quod fere pleriſque accidit, ut præſidio literarum diligentiam in perdiſcendo ac memoriam remittant. Cæſar. l. 6. 14.

with them (*d*). The body of the people therefore, throughout all the Celtic and Scythic tribes, were undoubtedly involved in the groſſeſt ignorance; being accuſtomed to hear their laws and hiſtory ſung extempore by their bards, they could not be perſuaded to receive the ſacred truths of the goſpel by any other means. Wherefore in the ninth century, when Louis le Debonnaire had a mind to give the ſacred writings to the Saxons, he was obliged to employ a poet of that nation to tranſlate both the old and new teſtament into Teutonic verſe (*e*); alſo Otfridus having undertaken in the ſame age to tranſlate the four evangeliſts into the Gothic or German tongue, was obliged to publiſh them in verſe. Even the Anglo-Saxons neither knew how to read, or would be at the trouble of learning, but contented themſelves with getting by heart the ſacred books, provided they were put into verſe that they might ſing them (*f*). Whence as in the time of paganiſm, all knowledge and learning were centered in the breaſts of the druids, ſo after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in the northern provinces of Europe, every ſpecies of erudition was lodged in the hands of the clergy, and immured within the walls of cloiſters; in conſequence thereof, through all parts of Europe during the middle ages, the monks became the clerks and ſcriveners in every public buſineſs; no will could be drawn, no donation or privilege granted, or any other public act paſſed without their aſſiſtance.

From

(*d*) Hiſtoire des Celtes, tom. 1. chap. 10.
(*e*) Du Cheſne Rer. Franc. tom. 2. p. 326.
(*f*) Hiſtoire des Celtes, tom. 1. chap. 10.

From theſe circumſtances we cannot be ſurprized, that the Greek and Roman writers ſhould aſſert that none of the Celtes had the uſe of letters; for though the druids committed the principal tenets of their religion, philoſophy and laws to writing, yet as they took all poſſible care to conceal the books in which theſe ſubjects were written, not only from ſtrangers, but even from their own people, the ancients had no means of becoming acquainted with the druidic writings.

On what materials therefore the druids wrote, or what were the form of their books, we have not the leaſt authentic information; but as paper was not invented till the eleventh century (*g*), nor parchment known in the north of Europe until the Romans had introduced it, it could not have been on theſe ſubſtances. Tacitus ſays, that the ancient Germans wrote on monuments of ſtone (*h*); and ſculptured ſtones are mentioned in the poems of Oſſian. The Iriſh antiquaries aſſert, that their druids wrote on tables of wood and the bark of trees with an iron ſtile (*i*); a circumſtance far from being improbable.

The method of writing on wooden tables is undoubtedly very ancient, it was practiſed by the Egyptians and Phœnicians; and we are aſſured by Plutarch, that the laws which Solon gave to the Athenians, in the courſe of the forty-ſixth olympiad, were

(*g*) Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V.
(*h*) Tacitus de Mor. Germ.
(*i*) O Flaherty's Ogygia. Keating's Hiſt. Harris's Ware, vol. 2.

were engraven on tables of wood (*k*). Even the preſent Brahmins of India continue to write their prayers and ſeveral other ſubjects relative to their religion, on thin plates of wood; and the greater part of the aboriginal inhabitants of North America to this day, draw their plans and hieroglyphic writings on the bark of birch; from whence we can ſcarce have a doubt, that the Celtic druids in general as well as the Iriſh wrote on theſe materials.

The form of the Scythic wooden books was that of a ſquare priſm, about a foot in length, having the characters engraven on the four ſides; but thoſe of the ancient Greeks, Phœnicians and Iriſh were thin oblong pieces, on which the characters were written with an iron ſtile after the manner of the Carthaginians, Egyptians and Phœnicians, that is from the left to the right, and from the right to the left alternately, as is evinced from the inſcriptions at New-Grange and from ſeveral MSS. This method of writing was called by the Greeks *bouſtrophedon* or the plowed ridges, as it reſembled the courſe of the furrows of the plough; the Iriſh called it *cionn fa eite*, or the head of the ridge, and *cor fa chaſan*, or the reapers path (*l*). The Hibernian Chriſtian clergy frequently wrote in the *cionn fa eite* down to the fourteenth century, though ſomewhat altered from the ancient; they only uſing it in the cloſe of a ſentence, whilſt the ancients uſed it almoſt in every other line, writing from the left to the right, and

(*k*) Plutarch. in Solone. Des Vignol, tom. 2. p. 830. and Solonis leges, ligneis axibus inſcriptæ. Suidas in Solone, tom. 3. p. 345.

(*l*) Col. Vallancey's Eſſay on the Antiquity of the Iriſh language.

and right to the left indifferently. Beſides this alternate method of writing, the druids appear to have frequently written their ſymbols like the Egyptians and Chineſe, in perpendicular lines from the top to the bottom; and it is probable, that the Ogham Croabh was frequently written in this manner.

Though the ancient inhabitants of Ireland undoubtedly received the knowledge of letters either from the Punic or Iberian traders, ſome few years before the Chriſtian era, yet knowledge was not univerſal throughout the iſland for ſome centuries after. It was not until the middle of the ſecond century that the Hibernian druids committed their poems, laws and philoſophy to writing; when Conor mor or Connachar M'Neſſan, called by the Iriſh hiſtorians Fedlimid and Ollaimfodlah, that is, the wiſe and learned man, was by the Caël or Tuiath de Danans elected king of the northern parts of Ireland in A. D. 164. This great prince, who was of the druidic order, obſerving the imperfection of the laws and hiſtories by being retained in the memory only, revived the celebrated convention of Taragh, ſo much ſpoken of by the Iriſh antiquaries, and which had been originally inſtituted about the middle of the firſt century for the aſſembly of the ſtates. In this convention, all poetic compoſitions relative to hiſtory and laws, compoſed by any of the druidic order, were recited before the general aſſembly of the chiefs, druids and bards; ſuch as received their approbation were committed to writing and carefully taught the youths in the ſeveral academics throughout the iſland, over which the druids preſided. The hill

of

of Taragh, on which the convention was held generally every year, was called *Laberagh* or the ſpeaking place, from whence Ptolomy in his geographic deſcription of this iſland, calls it Laberus. The books alſo, or rather plates, on which theſe compoſitions were written, were denominated *leabhuiruibh* or ſpeakers, whence *leabhuir* in the Iriſh tongue ſignifies a book to this day; though from this period we may date the general commitment of the druidic learning to writing, we muſt underſtand the public uſe of it amongſt the whole druidic order only; for their hiſtories, philoſophy and tenets of religion, were certainly written near 200 years earlier, though not communicated to the lower claſſes, except by tradition.

By the general eſtabliſhment of the art of writing, by authority, among all orders of the Hibernian druids, we may reaſonably conclude, that the druidic books were conſiderably encreaſed from the ſecond century, and were numerous on the introduction of Chriſtianity; yet none of their works have come to us, nor even to the eighth century; ſo indefatigable were the firſt Chriſtian miſſionaries in deſtroying every monument of heathen ſuperſtition. Though we ought not to attribute the entire deſtruction of the druidic literature to the zeal of thoſe who propagated the ſacred truths of the goſpel among our heathen anceſtors; much is owing to the druids themſelves, who on embracing the new religion conſtantly deſtroyed ſuch of their hiero-grammatic writings as treated of their old; ſo that from the earneſt deſire of one party to keep their doctrine an eternal ſecret, and the zeal of the other

other in aboliſhing every trace of idolatry, there were probably no druidic writings remaining in Ireland after the firſt fifty years from the preaching of St. Patrick, who is ſaid to have burned two hundred of them in one pile; an event, near five hundred years after the time that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe letters were introduced into this iſland, and more than ſeven hundred from the time that the druids firſt ſet foot therein.

The loſs of the druidic books may probably be regretted by the curious, and in ſeveral inſtances perhaps, would have been of real utility, yet they might not give us the information we expect. The hiero-grammatic writings, or thoſe which contained the principles of their religion and philoſophy, were chiefly written in ſymbols; a method though uſeful to thoſe who were maſters of the ſubject, in order to refreſh the memory, yet would be almoſt inexplicable to thoſe not initiated into the myſteries. Their laws and hiſtoric poems, being wrote in literary characters, would be the only part of their erudition of uſe to the moderns; theſe not being on religious ſubjects, eſcaped the fury of the zealots, and remained either in the minds of the people or preſerved in the Latin characters, ſeveral ages after the druidic order was no more, and many have found their way down almoſt to our own time. It was from the hiſtoric poems of the druids and ancient bards, that O Flaherty and Keating compoſed their ancient hiſtory of Ireland, not indeed immediately from the poems themſelves, but from compilations of them, made about the fourteenth century. But if theſe injudicious hiſtorians had obtained the original

original pieces in the hand writing of the reſpective authors, they would have found them very inadequate to ſuch a work, much more ſo, after paſſing through the mutilating hands of ignorant monks, bards and ſileas; for all the poems, not only of the ancient Iriſh but of the Celtes in general, though treating on hiſtoric ſubjects, were rather detached relations of particular battles and expeditions of the chiefs of ſingle ſepts or clans, than regular hiſtories of a nation; beſides, not mentioning any fixed or known era from whence to date the tranſactions, or ſpecifying the time when any event happened, they are very improper materials from which to deduce a regular and ſuccinct hiſtory; of which circumſtance, the moſt ancient and reſpected Iriſh hiſtorians, as Cormac, king and biſhop of Caſhel, who wrote the pſalter of Caſhel in the beginning of the tenth century, and Tighernach who wrote the Iriſh annals in the eleventh, ſeem to be ſo well aware, that they begin their hiſtories in the fifth age, without taking the leaſt notice of any tranſaction prior to that period; though there muſt have been a number of ancient druidic poems remaining in thoſe times in different parts of the kingdom; from whence we may juſtly conclude, that notwithſtanding the Iriſh Druids had the uſe of letters at leaſt as early as the middle of the firſt century before Chriſt, and really committed their doctrine to writing, yet through the imperfection of their hiſtoric compoſitions, little dependance is to be had on any tranſactions relative to the affairs of Ireland prior to the ſixth century, when the Chriſtian clergy began to turn their thoughts towards recording hiſtoric events.

Having in the preceding pages treated at large of the ſeveral ſymbolic and alphabetic characters uſed by the ancient inhabitants of this iſle, we ſhall now proceed to the explanation of thoſe ancient inſcriptions found on ſeveral monuments of antiquity, ſtill remaining in the kingdom, and which led us to the above diſcoveries.

INSCRIPTIONS AT NEW-GRANGE.

The moſt ancient inſcriptions now remaining in Ireland, if not in theſe parts of Europe, are undoubtedly thoſe found in the tumulus or mount of New-Grange near Drogheda in the county of Meath. This curious remnant of antiquity, which appears to have been a ſepulchre and temple, we ſhall defer giving a particular deſcription of, until we treat fully on the temples and ſepulchral monuments of the ancient Iriſh, in a ſubſequent Number of this Collectanea; confining ourſelves here to the explanation of the ſeveral inſcriptions found in the cave or dome, ſituated in the centre of the mount.

No 1.

The inſcription contained in No. 1, conſiſts of a ſpiral line on one of the upright ſtones compoſing the right ſide of the gallery, and repreſents the Supreme Being or active principle.

No. 2.

Is found on another ſtone on the ſame ſide of the gallery, and is written in the ſymbolic and ancient Ogham Croabh characters. The three ſymbols repreſent the Supreme Being, or firſt cauſe; but

DRUIDIC INSCRIPTIONS
At New-Grange.

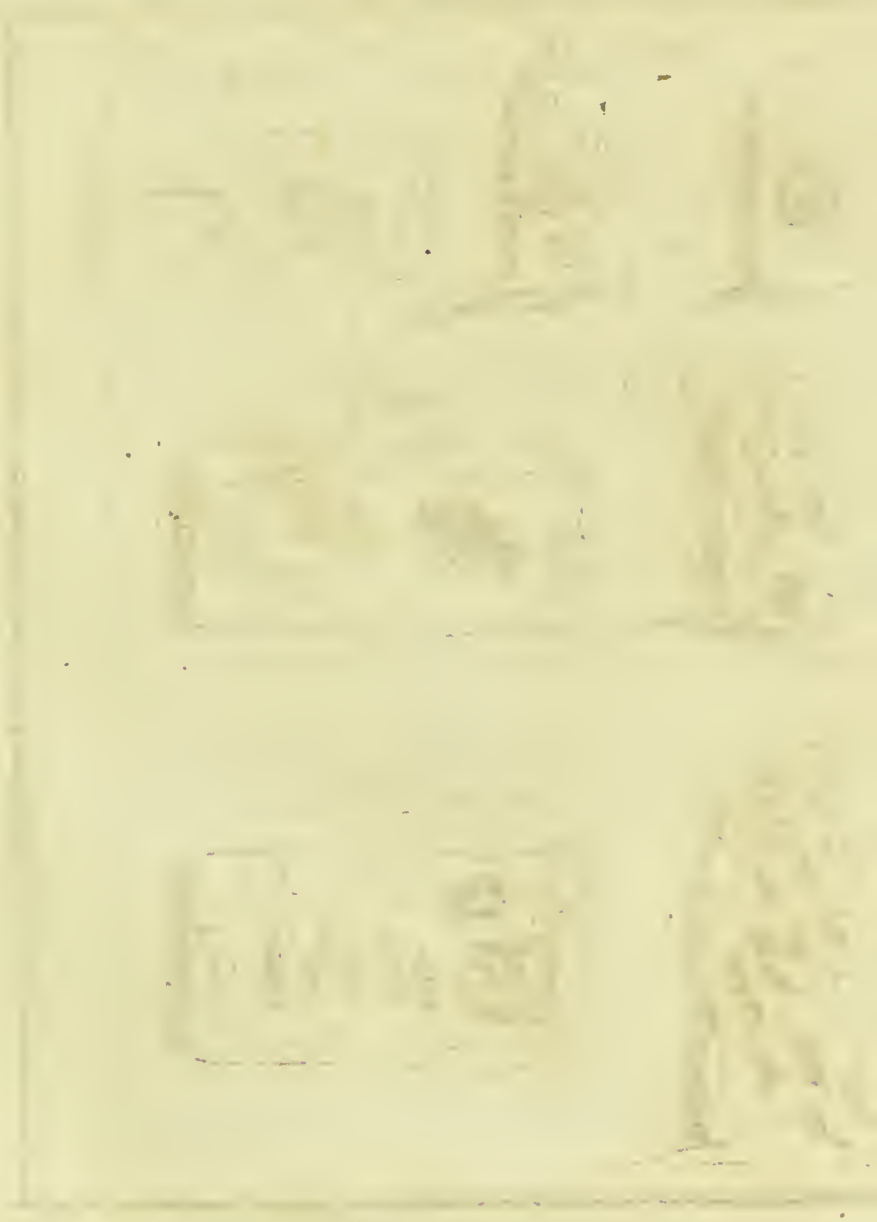


TABLE V.

Abicetoria Alphabet.

Character	Power	Name
A a	A	Aw
B b	B	Bai
C c <	C	Cai
D d	D	Dai
E e	E	Ea
F f	F	Eff
G g	G	Eghee
H h	H	Augh
I i	I	Ei
L l	L	Ell
M m	M	Em
N n	N	En
O o	O	O
P p	P	Pai
R r	R	Aur
S s ſ	S	Eſs
T t	T	Tai
U u	u	Uo
Y	y	Ye
Z	z	Ztraif
ui	ui	
ao	ao	
ea	ea	

but being repeated three times, ſhow them to ſignify the great eternal ſpirit. The Ogham is evidently written in the Cionn fa' eite, from the right to the left and from the left to the right, ſignifying *a è*, that is, *to the He*, for *è* in old Iriſh and Celtic ſignifies *He* or the maſculine gender, whence this inſcription is *To him who is the univerſal Spirit.*

No. 3,

Is found on the front of the covering ſtone of the eaſt tabernacle, and is written in ſymbolic characters, ſignifying the *Houſe of God.* It is remarkable that all the ancient altars found in Ireland, and now diſtinguiſhed by the name of Cromleachs or ſloping ſtones, were originally called *Bothal* or the Houſe of God; and they ſeem to be of the ſame ſpecies as thoſe mentioned in the book of Geneſis, called by the Hebrews *Bethel*, which has the ſame ſignification as the Iriſh Bothal. The tabernacles in the mount of New-Grange have an exact conformity to the Cromleachs, found in different parts of the kingdom.

No. 4,

Is found on the ſouth ſide of the eaſt tabernacle, written in the Ogham and ſymbolic characters. The ſymbol is that repreſenting the earth and univerſal nature, and with the Ogham which is written from the left to the right, makes *a mor àn Ops*, that is, *to the great mother Ops*, or to the great mother Nature.

No. 5,

Is found on the front ſtone of the north tabernacle; and repreſents chance, fate or providence.

No. 6,

Is found on the north ſtone of the weſt tabernacle, written in the Ogham, Bobeloth and Ogham Croabh characters, from the left to the right; the firſt character being an Ogham Œ, the ſecond a Bobeloth M, and the others in the Ogham Croabh are G, U, H, making *Oenguh*, *Oemguth*, that is, the ſepulchre of the hero (*m*).

No. 7,

Is found on a ſtone on the left of the gallery, is written in the Ogham, from right to left, terminating in the *Cionn fa eite*, being a *fur*, *daim*, *ſuc*, that is, men, oxen, ſwine; probably ſpecifying the ſeveral ſpecies of victims ſacrificed at this temple, in honour of univerſal nature, providence and the manes of the hero interred within, and to whom the three tabernacles appear to have been dedicated, and which were the principal objects of worſhip among all the Celtic tribes.

At what time this tumulus was erected cannot be aſcertained; it probably was not long before the art of writing became univerſal in the iſland, as all the different ſpecies are contained in the inſcriptions; if it was not erected by the founder of the convention of Taragh himſelf, as a temple and ſepulchre for his family, towards the cloſe of the ſecond century; it was however conſtantly diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Oenguh* or *Oengus*, viz. the tomb of the chiefs or heroes, by the body of the people; and we find it mentioned in the Chronicon Scotorum,

(*m*) *Oem* or *oen* ſignifies a hollow or dome, figuratively a tomb or ſepulchre, and *guh* or *guth* a commander or chief.

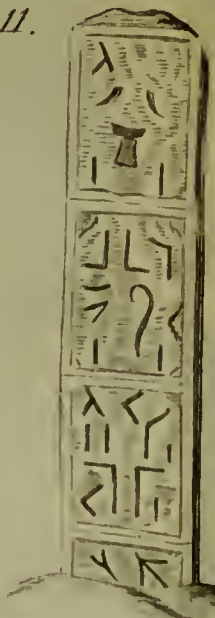
CROSSES AT CASTLE-DERMOT.

N.º 8.

N.º 9.

N.º 10.

N.º 11.



N.º 12.

torum, with the grove which ſurrounded it, by the name of *Fiodh Aonguſa*, or the grove of Aongus, or rather the grove of the ſepulchre of the heroes; though ſeveral perſons have imagined, that a chief of the name of Aongus or Oengus was interred here.

Aongus or Oengus was the name of the diſtrict adjacent to this monument, and which was alſo called Magh-Breaſſail or the plain of the noble ſhades; the chiefs of which, as cuſtomary among the ancient Iriſh, took the name of Aongus from their diſtrict, which in proceſs of time became a family and hereditary name.

Inſcriptions, as curious as thoſe of New-Grange, are found on two ſtone croſſes, in the church-yard of Caſtle-dermot in the county of Kildare. Theſe inſcriptions are written in the Bobeloth, Bethluiſnon, Ogham, Ogham Croabh and Symbolic characters, mixed.

No. 8,

Repreſents the front of one, now ſtanding on the north ſide of the church, but appears to have been placed originally at the weſt entrance of the old church, as the capital belonging thereto now lies not far from the door. In the head compartment, written in the Bethluiſnon and Bobeloth characters, is *cianlaeh* or the place of the head; in the center, in the Bethluiſnon only, is *crioghloith* or the place of the heart. In the compartment on the right arm, in the Bethluiſnon, is *laim deas* or the right hand; on the left arm is *cles laim* or the left hand; the character for *laim* is the Bobeloth N, with a line under it, ſo that it has ſome reſemblance

to a hand and arm; this contraction for a hand is alſo found in ſome MSS. The upper compartment of the ſhaft, contains in the Bethluiſnon, *a mbhan agus corp*, that is, the reins and body; the *o* in *corp* is of the Ogham Croabh. In the ſecond compartment is *braghan chaſh*, or the thighs and feet; the latter *a* in *braghan* is placed by miſtake of the ſculptor near the *ch*; the *ſ* is of the Abicetoria. The lower compartment contains ſymbolic characters; the three upper ones repreſent a ghoſt or ſpirit, as we have ſhown in the explanation of the ſymbols; three of them being placed together ſignify the Almighty Spirit or Holy Ghoſt; the three lower characters are ſymbols of perſons; whence the compartment contains, three perſons united in one Almighty Spirit, or the Holy Trinity.

No. 9,

Repreſents the back of No. 8. The head compartment contains ſymbolic characters, expreſſing the Trinity, under which is *cian* or the head.

The center contains, *croigheath* or the dwelling of the heart.

The compartment on the left arm contains *cles* or the left.

That on the right contains *dheas* or the right, the *ſ* is of the Abicetoria.

The three compartments on the ſhaft repreſent the Trinity.

No. 10,

Repreſents the right ſide of the ſhaft of a ſmall ſtone croſs, oppoſite the ſouth door of the old church.

The upper compartment contains *fuich ra doinan*; the character for *doinan* is a ſymbol, or rather contraction for a perſon, found alſo in ſeveral MSS.

The

The ſecond contains *é o baſah peacadha uile*; the characters for *peacadha* and *uile* are found in ſome MSS. of the middle ages.

The third contains *è o biachran.*

The fourth *lo brieannis.*

Which words according to the more modern orthography are, *feuch ro doin an è choch bàſeigh peacadha uile è choch biacran loi breitheanuis*, viz. Behold the very perſon, he who died for the ſins of all, he who will come again at the day of judgment.

No. 11,

Repreſents the front of No. 10. The upper compartment, written in the Bobeloth and Ogham characters, contains *bai-ie* or *bhimi cupain è*, drink of this cup. The character for *cupain* is a kind of hieroglyphic found in ſeveral MSS. of the middle ages.

The ſecond compartment contains, in the Bethluiſnon characters, *builg agus carra* or the bowels and ſkin, which ſeems to be an error of the ſculptor, it probably was deſigned for *builg agus corp*, that is, the bowels and body.

The third contains *braghagh* or the thighs.

And the fourth, in the Bobeloth characters, contains contractions for *da chath* or the two feet.

No. 12,

Repreſents the left ſide of Numbers 9 and 10. The three compartments contain ſymbolic characters expreſſing the Trinity. The arms and head of this croſs, now broken off, ſerve for a neighbouring tomb-ſtone; they were not cemented to the ſhaft by mortar when in their proper place, but

but made faſt by means of a mortice, after the manner of the Greeks and Romans in the ſhafts of their columns; the inſcriptions on them are the ſame as thoſe on the front of the northern croſs, therefore need not be repeated.

The characters on theſe croſſes are all in creux, and from two to four inches in length, though now ſo much worn by time, that the true form of ſeveral can with difficulty be traced; they appear to have ſupplied the place of an image, and probably at the time of their erection were not underſtood by the people, but were intended as Abraxas or Chaldaic ſigna, which contained ſome hidden myſtery, and which the devotees eſteemed efficacious either in the remiſſion of their ſins or in the cure of ſome bodily infirmity. The firſt Chriſtians, we have obſerved, like their pagan anceſtors, were much given to charms and incantations, particularly in Abraxas wrote in characters, underſtood only by thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to decypher them. The Saxons and Germans uſed for this purpoſe the ancient Runic, which on the introduction of the Latin had become obſolete, and therefore not underſtood by the people. To ſuch a degree of infatuation were the people arrived for charms and taliſmans in the ninth and tenth centuries, that the Runic letters in which they were generally written, were in a council held at Toledo in 1115, forbid to be uſed; and the Germans laid them aſide in 1001, by the perſuaſion of the pope and of Sifrid a Britiſh biſhop (*n*). The promiſcuous manner in which

(*n*) Wormii Hiſt. Run. chap. 23.

which the characters on theſe croſſes are placed, was not peculiar to the ancient Iriſh, but appears to be the general method uſed by all the Chriſtian clergy during the middle ages, in their inſcriptions and taliſmans, probably to render them more inexplicable; for ſeveral inſcriptions have been found at Conſtantinople, written in this manner, in the Greek letters intermixed with the Chaldaic ſigna, reſembling in ſeveral inſtances the characters on the croſſes at Caſtle-dermot (*m*). As ſome of theſe inſcriptions are evidently of the tenth century, we may reaſonably conclude thoſe on the croſſes are not much older; indeed every part of the building, eſpecially the tower and ornaments, ſhow them to be of that period.

From theſe croſſes we may obſerve, that the Bobeloth characters and ſeveral of the druidic ſymbols were not intirely loſt in the tenth and eleventh centuries, though it is probable that the clergy had long neglected to uſe them in their writings; they appear however to have been retained in the minds of the people, which they mixed with the Latin characters in their public inſcriptions down to the fifteenth century. And the ancient pagan Saxon characters are yet, in a great meaſure, retained by the common people of England, which they uſe as brands and marks for the pariſhes and hundreds, though their power and ſignification have long ſince been loſt.

(*o*) Vide Diſſert. Imp. Conſtantinopolitanorum, ſeu de inferioris ævi vel imperii, uti vocant, Numiſmatibus. Dufreſne. gloſſ. tom. 3.

OF THE ORIGIN AND LANGUAGE OF THE IRISH, AND OF THE LEARNING OF THE DRUIDS.

TO develope from obſcurity the primeval colonization of Europe is an arduous undertaking. Imperfect hints and mutilated records are ſuſpicious guides in the wide ocean of remote times; and yet even theſe afford ſome clue to the ſagacious inquirer, and no improbable conjectures have been formed on this ſubject. In the opinion of ſome learned men, Europe received its firſt colonies from three diſtinct bodies of emigrants, that is, the inhabitants of the weſt and ſouth from one, thoſe of the eaſt from another, and thoſe of the north and midland parts from a third. From whence we may reaſonably infer, that ancient Europe received its inhabitants after the univerſal deluge, like moſt other countries, at different periods and from different races of men; as is conformable to the teſtimony

teſtimony of moſt of the ancients; who conſtantly conſidered the univerſal inhabitants of the ſeveral countries of uncultivated Europe as of three diſtinct races, that is, the Celtæ, the Sarmatæ, and the Scythæ.

The Celtæ, from ſacred as well as prophane writers, appear to have been the firſt of the human race who repleniſhed with inhabitants the wilds of Europe, after the deſtruction of the old world by water. They were frequently called by the Greeks and Romans, Calts, Gauls, Gallatæ, Celtæ and Cimbri; according to the different dialects of the Celtic or Gomerian tongue ſpoken by theſe people, who originally inhabited or rather perambulated all the countries of ancient Europe, from Pontus Euxinus to the Cherſoneſus, and from the Viſtula to the pillars of Hercules; comprehending the preſent Germany, Poland, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Portugal, France and the Britiſh iſles. They generally diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the name of Calt, Cuilt and Caël, that is woodlanders, from inhabiting woods and foreſts; for Cale and Chille, in the Gomerian tongue ſignify a wood, and from thence undoubtedly is derived the Latin *Celtæ* and the Greek *Keltoi*; names, which have ever diſtinguiſhed the aboriginal inhabitants of Europe among the ancients.

The ſecond colony which contributed to the population of ancient Europe, appear to be the Sarmatæ; who were apparently deſcended from the ancient inhabitants of Perſia, Media and thoſe countries now appertaining to Aſia-minor, and lying between the Euxine and Caſpian ſea, the ancient Phrygia,

Phrygia, Armenia and Iberia. Theſe people were called by the Greeks, Phœnicians and Hebrews, Sar-madæ, that is, deſcendants of the Medes. They probably made their firſt eſtabliſhment in Europe on their revolt from the Aſſyrians, about 746 years before the Chriſtian era, where in proceſs of time, they inhabited that tract of country comprehending the preſent Hungary, Bohemia, Poland and the greateſt part of Turkey, the ancient *Sarmatia Europea.*

The third European colony was the Scythæ, a people deſcended from the Scythæ of Aſia; who in former ages, inhabited all the country at preſent diſtinguiſhed by Great Tartary and Ruſſia, the ancient *Scythia Aſiatica.* They were called Scythæ by the Greeks, from their unſettled mode of life, and are ſuppoſed to have made their way into Europe either round by the gulphs of Finland and Bothnia into the ancient Scandinavia, from whence, in proceſs of time, they overflowed the middle regions by Jutland and the Daniſh iſles, or acroſs the Viſtula by the ſouthern coaſts of the Baltic (*p*).

From theſe three people who were ſeperate and diſtinct races, and as different in their language, religion, manners and cuſtoms as a barbarous ſtate, (common to all) could admit, not only ancient but modern Europe is indebted for its inhabitants; for from the Celtæ are deſcended the greater part of the preſent inhabitants of Ireland, Wales and the weſtern parts of Scotland, with the body of the preſent

(*p*) The Scythians probably made their firſt migration into Europe about 635 years before Chriſt, in the period when their ſouthern brethern invaded the Medes and Aſſyrians. Newton's Chronology.

preſent French, Spaniards and Italians, as alſo numbers of the Swiſs and Germans. From the Sarmatæ are deſcended the greater part of the inhabitants of Bohemia, Hungary, Bucharia, Sclavonia, Poland and the greater part of Turkey; and from the Scythæ are deſcended the Swedes, Danes, Germans and Engliſh, with the eaſtern Scotch and numbers of the Ruſſians, alſo ſeveral of the French, Swiſs, Spaniards and Italians; from the irruptions of the Goths, Vandals and Franks in the third and fourth centuries, who were different tribes of thoſe people.

At what time the Celtes, as the aboriginal inhabitants, had planted colonies in the ſeveral European countries, and from thence croſſed the ſea to the Britiſh iſles, we have no certain information. It is certain from the moſt ancient and authentic Iriſh hiſtorians, as Cormac and Tighernach, who make not the leaſt mention of thoſe fables, (which during the latter ages have diſgraced the Hibernian hiſtoric page) that the ancient inhabitants of this iſland derived their origin from thoſe of Britain. The time therefore, in which Britain received its original inhabitants will, in ſome meaſure, determine that of Ireland. The Celtic tribes who, in a very early period, rather perambulated than inhabited the wilds of ancient Europe, were probably neither ſtrong nor numerous; but wandered from place to place, as the convenience of paſturage for their flocks, hunting and other circumſtances might admit, and therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to have committed themſelves to the hazards of the ſea in ſearch of new habitations, until obliged thereto by ſome

ſome remarkable incident. Richard of Cirenceſter, who wrote about the cloſe of the thirteenth century, thinks, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain arrived in that iſland about the year of the world 3000 (*q*). But the moſt early tranſaction we have of the barbarians of ancient Europe is that mentioned by Livy, concerning the firſt migration of the Gauls acroſs the Alps, in the reign of Tarquin the elder, about 600 years before the birth of Chriſt (*r*). What could induce theſe people with innumerable armies to undertake ſuch a difficult and laborious journey we are no where informed; it was probably occaſioned by the irruption of the Scythic and Sarmatic tribes, who about the beginning of the ſeventh century before the Chriſtian era, puſhed their colonies from the banks of the Danube and Viſtula towards the middle regions of Europe, and thereby obliged the original Celtic inhabitants, in a ſhort time, to relinquiſh their native ſeats, and ſeek in foreign climes that peace and tranquility they could no longer find in their own. Some therefore, who reſided in the ſouthern parts of Germany and Gaul, croſſed the Alps, whilſt thoſe who inhabited the weſtern coaſts, being perhaps ſomewhat enured to a naval life, took refuge in Britain, whoſe virgin fields afforded them ample means of ſubſiſtance and retirement. From this

(*q*) A. M. 3000 circa hæc tempora cultam et habitatam primum Britanniam arbitrantur nonnulli. Richard. p. 50.

(*r*) Gallos eos qui oppugnaverunt Cluſium non fuiſſe qui primi Alpes tranſierint, ſatis conſtat. Ducentis quippe annis antequam Cluſium oppugnarent urbem Romam caperent, in Italiam Galli tranſcenderunt.

De tranſitu in Italiam Gallorum hæc accepimus. Priſco Tarquinis Romæ regnante. Liv. l. 5. c. 33.

this period, and not earlier, may we reaſonably place the arrival of the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain; from which we cannot ſuppoſe they removed to Ireland, till a circumſtance ſimilar to that which obliged their anceſtors to quit their original ſeats on the continent, forced them to the weſtern extremities of Europe. The moſt ancient colony mentioned in the Iriſh annals is that of the Fir Bolgæ, ſaid to have tranſmigrated from ſome part of Britain in an early period. Richard of Cirenceſter thinks they were Britons, who retired into this iſland on the arrival of the Belgæ, about 350 years before the Chriſtian era, where in proceſs of time, they came to be called Scots (*s*). That the aboriginal inhabitants of Ireland retired from Britain into this iſland on the arrival of the Belgæ, is extremely probable, but the Fir Bolgæ from the poems of Oſſian and ſome of the moſt ancient Iriſh bards, do not appear to have been the original inhabitants of this country; whoever theſe were, they ſeem, as Oſſian expreſſes, to have arrived in the dark periods before the light of ſong aroſe, and were probably the aboriginal Caël of Britain, who having retired into the northern parts of that iſland, on the arrival of the Belgæ, croſſed over from the Mull of Galloway and Cantire into the northern parts of Ireland; where they came to be diſtinguiſhed, by the ſouthern Hibernian writers, by the name of Tuath de Danans, or northern people, and who have ingeniouſly deprived them of their birthright

(*s*) A. M. 3650. circa hæc tempora in Hiberniam commigrarunt, ejectis à Belgis, Brittones, ibique ſedes poſuerunt, ex illo tempore Scotti appellati. Richard, p. 50.

birthright, making them a ſubſequent colony to the Fir Bolgæ. The Fir Bolgæ, ſo much ſpoken of by the ancient Iriſh hiſtorians, appear to have been of the ſecond migration from Britain, and deſcendants of the ancient Silures, who inhabited the country on the north and ſouth ſides of the Severn, and who, on the arrival of the Belgæ under Divitiacus retired into Ireland, and eſtabliſhed a colony on the ſouth and eaſt ſides of the Shannon mouth, about eighty years before the Chriſtian era, as is particularly mentioned by Oſſian (*t*), who ſays, the Bolgæ under the conduct of Lathmon chief of Lumon (*u*), came from Cluba or the crooked bay, in Inniſhona an iſland beyond the waves, and ſettled in Culbin or the leſſer crooked bay; theſe people do not appear however to have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the name of Bolgæ, but of Momonii or children of the wave, from coming over ſea; and Momonienſis or Mumhan the ſouthern part of Ireland, has been ever thus denominated by the ancient Iriſh writers.

Thus were the north and ſouth parts of Ireland peopled by two grand migrations from Britain, and the other parts alſo received from that iſland ſubſequent colonies, who fled from the terror of the Roman arms; for Tacitus obſerves, that in the time of Auguſtus, migrations from Britain to Ireland were frequent; and we may add, in much later periods, eſpecially on the arrival of the Saxons in the fifth century. Whence we may infer, the intire population of this country from Britain was completed in the ſpace of 800 years.

As

(*t*) Temora, b. 7.
(*u*) Lumon the Luentum of Ptolomy.

As the firſt Inhabitants of Ireland derived their origin from thoſe of Britain, they generally like them, diſtinguiſhed themſelves, from the remoteſt periods by the name of Caël or Gadhil. It is true, they frequently uſed other appellations, ariſing from their ſituation and mode of life; as, their country Eirinn or weſtern iſland, and themſelves Eirinnach or weſtern people; but the name by which they were beſt known to foreigners, during the middle ages, was that of Scoti and their country Scotia; as we are aſſured by Claudian, Iſidore, Bede, Nennius, and moſt other writers of thoſe periods. As the Scots are not mentioned in hiſtory until about the middle of the fourth century, when in conjunction with the Picts they invaded the Roman Provinces in Britain, ſeveral have concluded they muſt have been a new people at that time, in theſe parts; indeed who they were and from whence they derived their origin has been a ſubject of much controverſy in the learned world. Some, from the aſſertions of Radulphus de Diceto, (*w*) Reinerus and others have imagined them Scyths, from Scandinavia; others again have maintained that the ancient inhabitants of Ireland were called Scots, from dwelling in a country covered with clouds and miſts; the Iriſh antiquaries themſelves generally derive them from Spain, Carthage, Phœnicia or Egypt. But without enumerating all the wild extravagant ſtories, of different authors, relative to this ſubject, we ſhall only obſerve, that the words Cithæ, Cite, Cuite and Scyth in the ancient

(*w*) Diceto wrote in 1185 and ſays, E regione quadam quæ dicitur Scythia, dicitur Scita, Scitus, Scotus, &c.

Celtic tongue, ſignifies a wanderer; from whence Scithæ, Scitæ, Scuitæ and Scotæ a race of wanderers, or who have no fixed habitation. About the beginning of the fourth century the ancient Iriſh, in wicker boats covered with ſkins called curraghs, infeſted the coaſts of Britain, then belonging to the Romans. Theſe boats being made narrow at the ends, like an Indian canoe, obtained among the Romans and Latins of the middle ages, the name of Sagittarii or Darters (*x*), from the ſwift manner in which they ſailed, and the mariners who navigated them were generally diſtinguiſhed by the names of Scuitæ or Scythæ, that is, wanderers, from their roving from place to place in ſearch of plunder; whence the Hibernian pyrates were in general by the Romans called Scoti, which during the middle ages, came to be applied to all the inhabitants of this country, and the iſland in conſequence thereof obtained the name of Scotia. Richard of Cirenceſter ſpeaking of the maritime tribes of Ireland as given by Ptolemy and others, obſerves, that all the interior parts of the iſland were inhabited by the Scots, though he doth not ſeem to know from whence they obtained that name; but as the Hibernian pyrates had obtained from

(*x*) Dufreſne's Gloſs. tom. 3. under the words ſagitta and Sagittaria. From whence all ſmall boats or barks which were ſharp at the ends obtained, during the middle ages, the name of ſagittaria throughout Europe; and their navigators were denominated ſagittariorum and ſcutarius, from the Celtic *ſcuta* a wanderer; whence any ſoldiers who made deſultory expeditions were called ſcutii and ſcutarii, the general vulgar name for any eſquire, captain or military officer in the eleventh century. See alſo under the words ſcutum, ſcutarius, ſcutarii, &c.

from the Romans the name of Scoti, from their pyratical courſe of life, ſo the internal inhabitants towards the cloſe of the middle age obtained that appellation from the Britons, by reaſon of their adhering to the perambulatory and paſtoral life of their anceſtors, ſeveral centuries after the Britons had received agriculture, and other arts of civil life, but even after the maritime coaſts of their own country, by the commerce of foreign merchants, had obtained permanent habitations; a circumſtance in a great meaſure confirmed by the aſſertion of St. Bernard, who ſpeaking of the firſt ſtone houſe or caſtle in Ireland, erected in 1135 by Malachias O Morgair archbiſhop of Armagh, introduces a native of the country, thus addreſſing that prelate: "What wonderful work is this? Why this inovation in our country? We are Scots and not Gauls, what neceſſity have we for ſuch durable edifices?" by which intimating, that as they had no fixed place of reſidence like the Britons, Gauls and Saxons, ſuch buildings were unneceſſary, as well as expenſive. Nay, even ſo late as the ſeventeenth century, we find after the rebellion in 1641, ſeveral wandering clans of the natives, under the denomination of creaghs or herdſmen, overrunning the country with their numerous flocks, ſo much to the prejudice of the Engliſh ſettlers, that they were obliged to be reſtrained by public authority. From theſe circumſtances it is apparent, that the ancient inhabitants of Ireland obtained the name of Scots during the middle ages, from their occupation and mode of life, which they retained until agriculture, the arts of civil life and increaſe of population,

about the tenth century, had in ſome meaſure confined their reſidence to particular ſpots; an appellation, which, from their ſettlement and commerce with North Britain, they have communicated to that intire diſtrict of Britain.

Seeing therefore all the ancient inhabitants of this country derived their origin from Britain, and conſequently were of Celtic extraction, we may reaſonably infer that their language was a dialect of that tongue, ſpoken by all the aboriginal inhabitants of Europe. The Celtic language was undoubtedly one of the original tongues, formed at the confuſion of Babel, and a dialect of thoſe ſpoken by the Hebrews, Phœnicians, Ionians, Egyptians and Libyans, as is agreeable to the aſſertion of Herodotus and other ancient writers. That the Iriſh, Hebrew and Punic languages were different dialects of the ſame tongue has been proved, beyond the power of confutation, by that learned antiquary Col. Vallancey, in his eſſay on the antiquity of the Iriſh language. What was the ſtate of the Celtic tongue, on the arrival of the Britiſh colonies in Ireland, cannot poſſibly be aſcertained; it moſt probably at that period had been much altered from its original ſtate, as well by time as by the mixture of other languages, radically different therefrom. The Scythæ and Sarmatæ, had long before this period, extended their tribes towards the weſtern confines of Europe, and thereby introduced a proportion of their reſpective languages among the original Celtic. The Belgic, Cimbric and weſtern Gallic had been mixed with the Scythic; and the Helvetic, Rhetic and ſouthern Gallic with the Sarmatic. The

Britiſh

Britiſh perhaps was at that time the only pure dialect remaining of this ancient mother tongue; their anceſtors arriving in that iſland, not only before the arts of civil life had made any remarkable progreſs, but alſo before the Scythæ had made any conſiderable connexions with the Celtes; they probably therefore retained, during their ſequeſtered ſtate, the purity of their language, at leaſt till they tranſmigrated to Ireland, excepting thoſe alterations cauſed by time and other latent circumſtances; for which reaſon, the original Hibernian colonies, proceeding not only from different parts of Britain, but in different periods, their language could not be exactly ſimilar; whence we may infer, that the language ſpoken by the ancient inhabitants of this iſle, conſiſted in the early ages, as at preſent, of ſeveral dialects, agreeable to the aſſertions of antiquaries. The firſt and oldeſt was that ſpoken by the Caël in the northern parts, the ſecond that ſpoken by the Momonii in the ſouth and weſt, and the third that ſpoken by the ſubſequent Britiſh colonies who ſettled in this iſland from the firſt to the fifth century after the Chriſtian era; this laſt dialect was probably more altered from the original tongue than either of the other, as ſeveral of theſe ſettlers were of the Belgic and Cimbric race, who had taken poſſeſſion of the ſouth of Britain prior to the arrival of Cæſar; and the other, thoſe Britons who had in ſome meaſure corrupted their language by their commerce with the Romans. What effect the ſettlement of foreigners, from other parts of the world, had on the language at different periods, cannot be eaſily aſcertained;

it

it is evident from the aſſertions of Strabo, Dyoniſius, Cæſar, Tacitus and Pliny, that a conſiderable commerce was carried on with Ireland and Britain by the Punic, Iberian and Gallic merchants, from the firſt century antecedent to the Chriſtian era, to the cloſe of the ſecond ſubſequent to it. From which commerce, the Hibernian druids obtained the uſe of letters, and perhaps ſeveral tenets of their religion and philoſophy; but what ſettlement theſe traders made in the iſland, or what alteration was cauſed in the language in conſequence thereof, we are intirely ignorant; they being occaſionally mentioned in ſeveral of the moſt ancient Iriſh poems, have laid the foundation whereon the bards and monks of the latter ages have built the fabulous ſyſtem of the Mileſian tale; they alſo maintain, that from this period, the written Iriſh language was called *Bearla Fene* or the Phœnician tongue *(y)*. But if the Bearla Fene was really uſed by the ancient inhabitants of Ireland, it muſt have ſignified the learning and not the language of the Phœnicians (z). It is poſſible, the druids might have diſtinguiſhed their literary knowledge by that name, but even this is doubtful. Whatever quantity of the Phœnician tongue was in thoſe periods introduced by the merchants into either Ireland or Britain by the factories which they eſtabliſhed, it could not have made any conſiderable alteration in the general language of the country, as the Celtic and Punic tongues,

(y) See Col. Vallancey's Eſſay on the Antiquity of the Iriſh Language, Keating, &c.

(z) *Bear* or *bar* in the old Celtic ſignified eloquence, whence *bearla* learned eloquence or written knowledge; from which *bearla* in the more modern Iriſh ſignifies ſpeech.

tongues, in theſe periods, were not widely different; nor could the Iriſh language have undergone any innovations of conſequence, by the piracies which the inhabitants carried on along the coaſts of Gaul and Britain, from the middle of the third to the cloſe of the ſixth century; much more might have been expected from the Latin on the introduction of Chriſtianity; but ſo cautious were the ancient Iriſh of admitting exotic terms into their language, that though the clergy conſtantly wrote in the Latin tongue, few words of that language are, even at this day, to be found in the Iriſh. The firſt innovation made in this language was that of the Scythic, introduced by the Danes from the ninth to the twelfth century; that language being radically different from the Celtic, cauſed a ſmall alteration in the Iriſh on the ſea-coaſts, but doth not ſeem to have penetrated into the internal parts. The only foreign language, which appears to have made any conſiderable alteration in the Iriſh tongue was the Engliſh; theſe people, being for ſeveral centuries ſettled in the heart of the country, and intermarrying with the natives, a great quantity of Engliſh and Saxon words are to be found in the modern Iriſh; but the greateſt alteration cauſed in this, and indeed in every other tongue, is that produced by time. The conſtant changing of the original ſignification of ſome words, the perpetual fluctuation of the pronunciation, muſt make the language of any country at ſeveral periods appear very different, and to which the Hibernian bards of the latter ages contributed not a little in their poems, by admitting into their compoſitions words of

of various and dubious ſignifications. To trace the Iriſh language through its ſeveral ſtages, would far exceed the limits of this eſſay; we hope to ſee it more fully treated on in a ſubſequent number of this work, by the learned gentleman, who ſome few years ſince favoured the public with an eſſay on the antiquity of the Iriſh language; he being the only perſon, perhaps in Europe at this time, capable of treating the ſubject with propriety.

The Iriſh language, notwithſtanding the ſeveral alterations which it muſt have undergone by time, and other circumſtances, is, with the Erſe and Welch, the only genuine remains at this day of that univerſal tongue ſpoken by all the aboriginal inhabitants of Europe, and from which proceeded not only the Greek and Roman languages (*a*), but the foundation of the modern Italian, Swiſs, French and Spaniſh, with much of the Dutch and German; and though at this time little underſtood or ſpoken, except by the natives, and even by them in a very corrupt manner, appears, to have been when in its utmoſt purity, a bold and maſculine language; not conſiſting of a number of words, but extremely expreſſive, and when properly ſpoken, had an harmonious and beautiful cadence, rendering it proper for poetic compoſition. It is much to be lamented, that the ſtudy of the Celtic tongue in ſome of its branches, was not cultivated by the learned ſome centuries ſince, when the knowledge of it yet remained not only in Britain but in ſeveral countries on the continent; as thereby a great part of the ancient hiſtory of the European nations might have been

(*a*) Pezron on the Antiquity of Nations.

been preſerved, as alſo much of the Celtic learning, now eternally buried in oblivion. But by confining their ſtudies to the Greek and Latin languages, the learned indeed obtained a competent knowledge of thoſe people, but loſt all remembrance of their own. It is ſincerely to be wiſhed however, that ſome of the univerſities of Britain or Ireland, would encourage the ſtudy of the Iriſh or Erſe language, even in this late period, as ſeveral ſubjects might by that means be explained, which appear now inexplicable.

From a neglect of the cultivation of the Celtic tongue, with the ſeveral characters in which it was anciently written, all knowledge of the arts and ſciences, cultivated by our heathen anceſtors, has been intirely loſt; the only fragments now remaining of them lie ſcattered in the works of the Greek and Roman writers; ſome few excepted, which have been tranſmitted by tradition. Therefore to ſee this ſubject treated here in a circumſtantial manner, cannot be expected; nor indeed is it poſſible, from the few lights relative thereto which we are able to obtain.

We have obſerved that all knowledge among the ancient inhabitants of theſe iſles was confined to a claſs of men called druids. Theſe people, whom we may conſider as the body of the learned, were of different orders; to each of which, the cultivation of a particular art and ſcience was appropriated; and as the whole claſs was held in the moſt honourable eſtimation, none but thoſe of noble parentage could be initiated into their myſteries; all the Celtic tribes in general, after the manner of the ancient Greeks,

Greeks, eſteeming it ignoble to inſtruct any of the plebeian orders in the liberal arts and ſciences (*b*).

The druidic orders conſiſted of two principal claſſes, that is, the *ſacred* and *prophane*. The prophane or loweſt order was denominated *bhardagh* or *bardos*, that is, learned men (*c*); to this claſs appertained the ſtudy of oratory, hiſtory, laws, poetry and muſic (*d*). For inſtructing youth in thoſe ſciences, ſchools were eſtabliſhed in groves and caves in different parts of the iſland, as is agreeable to the aſſertions of the Iriſh antiquaries (*e*). One of theſe academies is mentioned by Oſſian to be in Ulſter, others were at Clogher, Ardmagh, Taragh, &c. and in general all the celebrated ſchools, eſtabliſhed in Ireland by the Chriſtian clergy in the fifth century, were erected on the ruins of the druidic academies. The courſe in theſe ſeminaries, beſides the conſtant uſe of arms, was 1ſt oratory, 2d muſic, 3d poetry, and 4th hiſtory (*f*); in each of theſe, as they advanced, the ſtudents took their degrees according to the bent of their ſtudies; thoſe who profeſſed only muſic, obtained the name of *citharadagh* or *clarſacha*; (*g*) thoſe who profeſſed hiſtoric poetry and muſic obtained the title of *bhard*; and thoſe who ſtudied only poetry, containing their laws, obtained the title of *brehons* or judges. The *clarſacha* being only

(*b*) Cæſar. com. l. 6. Schedius de dis Germ.
(*c*) Camden. Col. Vallancey.
(*d*) Lucian. Lexiph. Jul. Serveri.
(*e*) Pomp. Mel. l. 3. c. 2. p. 73. O Flaherty, Keating, &c.
(*f*) Neceſſaria orationum frequens lectio, bono ordine primo poëtas deinde hiſtoricos. Serv. 4.
(*g*) Camden.

only inſtrumental muſicians, were of the loweſt order, and attendants on the *bhards* at the courts of the heroes, places of devotion and field of battle (*h*). The *bhards* properly ſo called, were not only compoſers of the ſeveral ſpecies of poetry and muſic, but the heralds, aid de camps, and conſtant attendants on the chiefs in battle, marching at the head of their armies, accompanied by the *clarſacha*, clad in white flowing robes and beards, ſinging ſome martial ſtrain to the harp (*i*); whence Oſſian compares them to the "moving foam on the dark ridge of the wave (*k*);" they alſo ſang the requiem of ſuch as fell in battle, without which, and the funeral rites, the Celtes like the Greeks believed the manes of their heroes could not be happy. The bards were held in great reſpect by the people, and their perſons held ſacred even by enemies (*l*), for which reaſon they were ſometimes called *ullagh* or the ſacred order. After the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, and the druidic order was in a great meaſure aboliſhed, the bards were ſtill retained, though not in their original ſplendour and conſequence; they ſeem alſo to have altered their names. The *bhardagh* being called *ſheanchagh* or genealogiſts, and the *clarſacha*, *citharados* or harpers, in which capacity they were retained in the family of the chiefs, down to the ſixteenth century.

The ſacred order was compoſed of thoſe properly termed druids, or as they were anciently denominated

(*h*) Oſſian's Poems.

(*i*) Plin. l. 16. cap. 44. Demoſt. orat. Clemens. Alexand. pædag. cap. 10. Diod. Sicul. Pauſan.

(*k*) Battle of Lumon.

(*l*) Poems of Oſſian.

denominated *trudhii* or *turduli*, that is, diviners and interpreters of the Gods (*m*). Their ſtudies were confined to theology and the ſublime ſciences, and conſiſted like the *bhards* of ſeveral degrees or orders; that is, the *drudhicydeigh*, the *drudhibhaitheigh*, the *drudhicerglios* and the *ſamodhii*.

The *drudhicydeigh* (*n*) or the interpreters of the Gods of the foreſts, reſided in the ſacred groves in caves, or in the trunk of an hollow oak; they divined by the motion of the leaves of trees, by the blowing of the wind, and by long ſquare ſlips of wood taken from ſeveral trees. Their particular ſtudies were botany and phyſic.

The *drudhibhaitheigh* (*o*), or as they were called by the Latin writers, *vates* and *ubates*, were the ſacrificers, and divined by the entrails and flowing of the blood of the victims at the time of ſacrifice (*p*).

The *drudhicerglios* (*q*) preſided over the manes and tombs of heroes, they were the dreamers, and divined by dreams and viſions of the night (*r*).

The *ſamodhii* or *ſamothæi*, that is, the wiſdom of the gods, were of the higheſt degree of the druidic order; they cultivated the ſtudy of theology, aſtronomy, and moral and natural philoſophy, and divined by the aſpect of the ſun, moon and ſtars, by

(*m*) Schedius de Dis Germ. p. 256, 258. The Iriſh called them *drudhideigh*, that is, diviners.

(*n*) *Drudhicydeigh* ſignifies diviners by the oaken groves. Pezron's Antiquities.

(*o*) *Druidhibhaitheigh* ſignifies diviners by beaſts.

(*p*) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. Strabo, l. 4.

(*q*) H. Boëthius, l. 2. calls this order corruptly durcerglios; *Drudhicerglios* ſignifies the diviners by the grey or green caves.

(*r*) Poems of Oſſian.

by meteors, by the colour and figure of the clouds, the blowing of the wind, and the flame and ſmoke of fire (*s*).

No perſon could be admitted into the druidic order, until he had taken his ſeveral degrees in that of the bards; but as the order was ſacred and related to the divinity, the tenets of which were kept an eternal ſecret from the people, every druid, on being admitted, was obliged to ſwear by the circle of the Sun, the irregular Moon, the Stars and all the Hoſts of Heaven, that he would not divulge what was taught him, but retain it in memory only (*t*); nor were they permitted, in the public ſongs, either ſacred or prophane, to mention any of the ſublime tenets of their religion and philoſophy; for which reaſon perhaps, we do not find mention of the worſhip of a divinity in the poems of Oſſian. The cuſtom of enjoining ſecrecy to the pupils of the druids was not peculiar to them, the ancient Greeks had the ſame, for we find Hippocrates ſwore his pupils on being admitted under his tuition (*u*).

As the bards were choſen into the academies from the moſt ſtately and beautiful of the noble youths, ſo the druids were elected from the talleſt and moſt learned of the bards; for which reaſon, it was not ſufficient that they had taken the ſeveral degrees belonging to the bards, they muſt be remarkable

(*s*) Strabo, l. 4. Diod. Siculus, l. 5.

(*t*) Omnes qui inciderint, adjuro per ſerum ſolis circulum, inæquales lunæ curſus, reliquorumque ſiderum vires et ſigniferum circulum, ut in reconditis hæc habeant, nec indoctis aut profanis communicent, ſed præceptoris memores ſint. Vettius. Valens. Antiochenes, l. 7.

(*u*) Schedius de Dis Germ. cap. 16. p. 299.

markable for their ſtrength and graceſulneſs of perſon; wherefore, when two competitors aroſe whoſe mental and corporeal accompliſhments were nearly equal, the deciſion was left to the fate of arms, by ſingle combat (*w*). The time neceſſary to obtain the ſeveral degrees in the ſchools of the bards was ten or twelve years, and in thoſe of the druids nearly as long; whence, between twenty and thirty years cloſe application was required to obtain the degree of a ſamothæi (*x*).

In ſpeaking of the ſeveral ſpecies of learning cultivated by theſe heathen philoſophers, we ſhall only mention here the ſecular, that is, oratory, poetry, muſic, phyſic, coſmography, aſtronomy and ethics, reſerving the theological to be ſpoken of more fully hereafter. To ſpeak with eaſe and eloquence in public aſſemblies, was eſteemed the greateſt ornament in the circle of druidic literature, and as this was the moſt effectual method of laying a true foundation for poetic and muſical compoſition, no pains were omitted to ground the young pupils in oratory and elocution, on their entrance into the academies. To find a barbarous and uncivilized nation, cultivating with aſſiduity, a branch of literature ſeldom attained in perfection by the moſt refined and poliſhed ſocieties, may at firſt appear ſomewhat extraordinary; but we ought to conſider, that true eloquence is not confined to any particular ſtate of ſociety. The harangues of an Indian ſachem at the head of his tribe, has often more energy than is to be found in the moſt learned aſſemblies;

(*w*) Schedius de Dis Germ. pag. 255. Avon. l. 1. Liv. 28.
(*x*) Cæſ. com. l. 6. Pomp. Mela, l. 3. c. 2. p. 73.

aſſemblies; and the orations of Demoſthenes are more to be admired than thoſe delivered in a more improved ſtate of the Grecian empire. In the early ſtages of ſociety the paſſions alone are conſulted, in the later the reaſon. Man living in uncultivated deſerts, and ſupported by the chace, has few abſtract ideas; reaſoning therefore, from a long train of connected ſubjects would be loſt on him, he would neither have patience to attend to the concluſion nor underſtand the argument. Whence the druidic oratory was intirely calculated to work on the paſſions, conſiſting of energetic expreſſions and ſtrong metaphors, as is evinced through every ſpecies of their poetic compoſitions.

To judge of the Celtic poetry by the few remains to be found at this time in Ireland, would be improper; none of the compoſitions of this kind appear older than the fourteenth century; ſome of them indeed are taken from much earlier productions, but ſo mutilated by the later bards, as to have little reſemblance to the originals. The only genuine remains of the old druidic poetry are in the works of Oſſian, to be found in the highlands of Scotland; true and elegant tranſlations of the greater part of the productions of this noble heathen bard, who flouriſhed about the cloſe of the third century, have been given to the public ſome years ſince, by Mr. M'Pherſon. From theſe poems it is apparent, that the Celtic poetry conſiſted of ſeveral ſpecies, as the elegiac, the lyric, heroic, epic and dramatic, as has been conſtantly aſſerted by the Iriſh antiquaries and ſeveral of the ancients *(y)*.

The

(y) Fabricii Bibl. Lat. p. 74. Prudent. apotheoſ. v. 296. Solin. 25. p. 234.

The elegiac was intirely confined to funeral obſequies and other ſerious ſubjects.

The lyric contained their love ſonnets, paſtoral pieces, &c.

The heroic, under which ſpecies we may comprehend the epic and in ſome inſtances the dramatic, contained the poems relative to their hiſtory and actions of their chiefs; beautiful ſpecimens of this compoſition are given in the works of Oſſian; they were performed generally at the feaſts of the nobles, aſſemblies of the ſtate, on the eve of battle, the obtaining of victory, and indeed on every other public occaſion (z); their performance, when circumſtances admitted, was grand and noble; the chiefs being ſeated in the open air during the night, with torch light, in a circle, on mounds of turf or ſkins of wild beaſts; the bards ſtanding in the centre, recited the narrative part, in a kind of recitative accompanied by the harp; after which, the lyric part was ſung in full chorus, after the manner of the Greeks, in which were frequently introduced ſymphonies of pure inſtrumental muſic by the clarſacha, ſtanding on the outer circumference of the circle (*a*); ſo that perhaps there was not a more auguſt and noble ſpectacle, than to hear the recital of an elegant hiſtoric production, at the general aſſembly of the ſtates, when the moſt eminent bards throughout the realm were collected; there being the greateſt probability that they far ſurpaſſed, in noble ſentiment, beautiful expreſſion and true melody,

(z) Amm. Marcell. l. 17. c. 13. p. 146. Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. 212. Liv. 42. 60. and the Poems of Oſſian.

(*a*) Poems of Oſſian.

melody, all the modern compoſitions of operas and oratorios, eſpecially after the eſtabliſhment of the convention of Taragh. To that celebrated inſtitution, which probably was erected in imitation of thoſe of the ancient Iberians, mentioned by Strabo, (*b*) the Celtic poetry in theſe iſlands ſeems to have been indebted, for that elegance and refinement which we find in the works of Oſſian. For about the middle of the third century, as appears from Oſſian and Hector Boethius, Fingall or Fynnan, called by the Iriſh Fin mac Comhal and great grandſon of Connor mor, inſtituted a like convention at Selma in Scotland (*c*); ſo that the poems of Oſſian may be conſidered as the moſt correct ſpecimens of the Celtic poetry, being compoſed in the moſt learned and refined period of antiquity. After the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, and the druidic order was neglected, their poetry ſuffered conſiderable diminutions, eſpecially the hiſtoric, though the lyric retained its perfection ſeveral centuries after, and ſome compoſitions of that ſpecies are ſtill to be found in Ireland and in the highlands of Scotland, excellent in their kind.

As all, or moſt of the Celtic poetry was ſet to muſic, the Iriſh antiquaries have ſaid much relative to their ancient muſical compoſition; but how much it exceeded, or came ſhort of the modern, cannot perhaps be determined, it not being certain, that any of the druidic muſic has been handed down to us. The national muſic, found at this day both in Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, has great

(*b*) Strabo. l. 3. p. 139.
(*c*) Oſſian, Songs of Selma, H. Boëthius, l. 2.

originality, and is far from wanting merit, being of a plaintive ſtile, but exceedingly expreſſive, and well adapted to the genius of the people. Whether the druidic muſic reſembled any of theſe is not certain; there is found in ſome of the remote parts of the iſles of Scotland, muſic of a noble ſimple nature, exceedingly expreſſive, and bearing evident marks of great antiquity; it is ſaid to be ſome of the muſic to which the poems of Oſſian were originally ſet, if ſo, the Hibernian and Britiſh druids cultivated muſic with the ſame ſucceſs they did poetry; ſome alſo of the Iriſh airs appear to be very old; and if they are not ſome of the remains, are at leaſt in imitation of their ancient muſic. We muſt not expect however, that the Hibernian Celtic muſic contained pieces in the various parts of harmonic compoſition; its merit, like that of the ancient Greeks, depended intirely on melody, and even in this, of no great latitude; the ſcale exceeding little more than a ſingle octave in the diatonic, the chromatic was entirely unknown. This defect however in the druidic muſical ſcale did not prevent their having pieces in the ſeveral ſpecies of melodious compoſition; as the penſeroſo, allegro, martial, &c. The penſeroſo, called by them *geantraidheacht* (*d*) or ſorrowful, was uſed in the requiem of the dead, and on other ſolemn occaſions (*e*). The allegro called *langotraidheacht* or delightful was uſed in their dances, and generally adapted to their lyric compoſitions. The *amoroſo*, called

(*d*) O Conor, p. 68.

(*e*) Whence the funeral poems were called *geanan* or ſorrowful cities, a name which they have preſerved to this day.

called *ſuantraidheacht* or repoſing, was adapted to their love ſonnets, and other ſubjects where plaintive ſoftneſs was required. The martial, called *golltraidheacht*, was uſed in war; to this ſpecies alſo the heroic parts of their hiſtoric poems were ſet, and was frequently performed on inſtruments, in their hunting matches. From the poems of Oſſian it appears, that the only muſical inſtruments known in the early ages to the Britiſh and Hibernian Celtes, were the harp and horn. The harp, called *clarſach*, was nearly of the ſame form as thoſe uſed at preſent by the Welch and Iriſh, only inſtead of having ſtrings of gut as in the former, or wire as in the latter, was ſtrung with thongs of leather *(f)*, and ſeldom contained more than eight or ten ſtrings. The harp appears to be the original inſtrument among all nations of antiquity, it being in general uſe not only among all the Celtes, but alſo among the Hebrews, Greeks and Sarmatæ. The horn was only uſed in war and the chace, and was no other than the common bugle-horn, ſtill retained by the common people, and our modern huntſmen. Several of the ancients aſſert, that the Hebrews and Gauls were acquainted with the organ; that this noble muſical inſtrument, in its preſent form, was known to the nations of antiquity, is not in the leaſt probable; it is certainly of modern invention. The Hebrew word *huggah*, which has been generally tranſlated organ, ſignifies any tubical inſtrument, ſounded by wind, or in general a pipe. The Iriſh antiquaries relate, that the ancient inhabitants of this country, during the middle ages, uſed two

(f) Cambrenſis.

ſpecies of wind inſtruments, called *ſtuic* and *adharcaidh ciuil*; *ſtuic* ſignifies a tube or pipe, and was probably the common pipe; *adharcaidh ciuil* ſignifies a collection of pipes joined together, and appears to be no other than the bag-pipes, ſo much uſed in Ireland at preſent; as neither of theſe inſtruments ſeem to have been known in this iſland in the days of Oſſian, they probably were introduced by the foreign merchants about the fourth or fifth century, and ſeem to be of Gallic or Iberian origin, and to be thoſe mentioned by the Latin writers, under the denomination of organs (*g*). As to the trumpet and drum, mentioned by Cambrenſis, they were of Scythic origin, and introduced by the Danes.

Poetry and muſic appear to have been the ſciences, cultivated with the greateſt ſucceſs by the druids; though their knowledge in coſmography and aſtronomy was not deſpicable, conſidering their mode of life, and their total want of inſtruments proper to make experiments and obſervations. Their ideas relative to the origin of things were nearly the ſame as thoſe of the Egyptian prieſts and Perſian magi; they maintained that the world was eternal, and engendered by fire, which they conſidered the active principle of nature (*h*); that the principle oppoſite to fire, and conſtantly at variance with it, was water; which two principles, after contending together for ſome time, would alternately ſucceed, firſt water and then fire; that during the dominion of

(*g*) The bag-pipes by the Latins of the middle ages was frequently called the travelling organ. Dufreſne's Gloſs. tom. 3.

(*h*) Juſtin. 2. Strabo. l. 4. p. 197.

of fire, a total change ſhould take place in the univerſe, and the earth and all things contained therein would, by that active principle be diſſolved, but in a ſhort time be renewed in great ſplendor, and men reſide with the gods (*i*). The ſyſtem of the univerſe and a plurality of worlds, at this time received by the learned in philoſophy, and thought to be the diſcoveries of the latter ages, was not only maintained by the Celtic druids but by the Egyptian prieſts, and indeed by moſt of the philoſophers of remote antiquity (*k*); they even appear to have had the method of calculating eclipſes, and other aſpects of the planets (*l*). Diodorus Siculus (*m*) ſays, that in an iſland weſt of the Celtes, the druids brought the ſun and moon near them; whence ſeveral have conjectured that teleſcopes were not unknown in thoſe early periods; but this certainly was not the caſe, the invention of optic inſtruments undoubtedly belongs to the moderns. The expreſſion of Diodorus, of bringing the ſun and moon near them, probably ſignifies, to be well acquainted with their motions, and ſeems to refer to the calculation of eclipſes; which certainly was not performed by aſtronomical tables as at preſent, but by cycles of nineteen years; a method, though not correct to an hour and ſometimes a day, yet was ſufficient for theſe ancient philoſophers; it encreaſed their conſequence with the people. They appear alſo to have formed the ſtars into conſtellations,

(*i*) Strabo. l. 4. p. 197.
(*k*) Herodotus.
(*l*) Amm. Marcell. l. 14. c. 9.
(*m*) Diod. Sic. l. 6. c. 9.
(*n*) Temora, book 7.

tions, eſpecially thoſe of the northern hemiſphere; but how far they ſucceeded in this, it is not poſſible to determine, though ſome of their names are mentioned by Oſſian.

In their chronology, called by them *chronog* (*o*), they calculated time by the night, beginning at ſunſet, according to the general practice of antiquity; their ſeaſons were generally regulated by the moon, after the manner of the Egyptian prieſts, and their years by the ſun, whence the ancient Iriſh for a year is *bealaine* (*p*).

In mathematical knowledge they ſeem to have been extremely defective, it not being certain what method they had of numerating and performing arithmetical calculations. They appear to have been acquainted with ſome geometrical figures, as the circle, triangle, ſquare, and polygon (*q*), but the external form of theſe bodies, probably terminated their geometrical knowledge; indeed living in an uncultivated country, and leading an unſettled life, they were not under the neceſſity of cultivating geometry like the Egyptians. In anatomy, they appear to have had a ſuperficial knowledge of the muſcles, veins and nerves, as they frequently divined by them in their ſacrifices (*r*). In ſurgery they generally applied herbs to wounds and fractures; indeed vegetables compoſed the whole of their materia medica, and they applied them in all phyſical caſes, both internal and external, though

(*o*) O Brien's Dictionary.
(*p*) Cæſ. Com. l. 6. Tacit. mor. Germ.
(*q*) Aventin. l. 1. Iſidor. Gloſs.
(*r*) Tacit. l. 14.

though the generality of diſeaſes were attempted to be cured by charms and incantations.

Their morality conſiſted of ſhort ſentences or proverbs, which they obliged the people to retain in their memories; the principal of which were, to fear the gods, do no ill, and ſtudy to be valiant (*s*).

But the ſcience to which the druids paid the greateſt attention was that of divination, to be perfect maſter of which, was thought to be unattainable by any one perſon; wherefore it was divided into claſſes, that each druid might apply to the cultivation of ſome particular branch, whence the ſeveral orders of the druids were denominated from the ſpecies of divination they profeſſed.

The ſublime parts of their philoſophy and theology were firſt taught their pupils in the ſchools of the bards under fiction and allegory (*t*), after the manner of the orientals and all remote nations of antiquity, but were not explained until their admiſſion into the druid order.

To this conciſe account of the druidic learning, it may not be improper to mention the ſyſtem of education given by them to the people; reſerving a more circumſtantial explanation of their erudition, till we fully treat of the religion, poetry, muſic, architecture, army, navy, cuſtoms and manners of the ancient pagan Iriſh, under diſtinct heads.

The Celtic nations have ever been looked on by the Greeks and Romans as an ignorant and barbarous people; the lower orders undoubtedly were ſo, but this certainly was not the caſe with the nobleſs.

There

(*s*) Diogenes Laert. proœm. p. 4.
(*t*) Ibid. p. 4.

There was perhaps no nation of antiquity, where the education of the young nobility, was ſo much attended to as among the ancient Iriſh; they were not only initiated early into the uſe of arms, but conſtantly went through a regular courſe of oratory, hiſtory, poetry and muſic, in the academies of the bards; from whence, if they thought proper, they were admitted into the druidic order, and initiated into all their myſtic rites; for which reaſon we find that ſeveral of the ancient Iriſh kings were not only bards but druids. Even the fair ſex were not neglected, and the ancient Hibernian ladies received an education, according to their mode of life, equal, if not ſuperior, to that of the moderns. The young ladies in the early ages, ſo far from being put under the care of foreign tutoreſſes collected from the lower people, without education, ſentiment and often without principle, were committed to the care of druids, who paid conſtant attention to their mental and corporeal accompliſhments (*u*); whilſt muſic, eloquence and poetry embelliſhed their minds, the exerciſe of the chace, archery and throwing the lance, ſerved to give their bodies health, vigour and beauty, the conſtant characteriſtics of the Celtic ladies; even the line did not terminate here, thoſe who attained to perfection the learning of the bards, on application, were admitted into the druidic order (*w*), and initiated into all the ſublime tenets of their religion and philoſophy, where they became the prieſteſſes in ſeveral modes of their worſhip,

(*u*) Poems of Oſſian, Colgan. Act. Sanct. Probus. l. 2. cap. 14.

(*w*) Poems of Oſſian.

worſhip, and were often choſen in preference to the druids themſelves, in drawing preſages from the blood and entrails of the victims offered in ſacrifice (*x*).

On the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion, and the druidic order being aboliſhed, the Hibernian ſyſtem of education as well as learning ſuffered conſiderable alterations. For the ſeveral ſciences being clothed in a foreign language, few, except thoſe intended for the prieſthood, would be at the trouble of cultivating knowledge of ſuch difficult acceſs; eſpecially, as it was different from that they had been accuſtomed to. In conſequence, the education of the laity, and even the nobleſs, were not much attended to; and after the arrival of the Engliſh, the wars attending the conſtant ſtruggle for liberty, for near 400 years, ſo far perverted the mind from literary purſuits, that in the fifteenth century, few of the Iriſh nobility, could either read or write (*y*).

(*x*) Relig. des Gauls. Poems of Oſſian.
(*y*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

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Advertiſement.

THE ESSAY on the ANTIQUITY of the IRISH LANGUAGE publiſhed in the Year 1772 being out of print, and much inquired after, the Author beſtowed part of his leiſure in correcting and making additions to it; but being called upon to attend the ſervice of his country at this critical period, he left his papers in the hands of a friend to diſpoſe of as he ſhould think proper. On conſulting ſome learned and judicious friends, they agreed that the Eſſay thus reviſed and improved would be a moſt acceptable preſent to the curious; in compliance with this determination, the Editor now preſents it to the Public as the EIGHTH NUMBER of the COLLECTANEA DE REBUS HIBERNICIS, hoping that the unavoidable abſence of the Author will be admitted as an excuſe for any errors that may appear in it.

PREFACE.

IRELAND, properly ſo called, was probably the firſt of the Britiſh iſles that got the Name of Thule, as being the firſt the Carthaginians met with ſteering their courſe northward, when they departed from Cape Fineſtre the northern head-land of Spain. And this iſland ſeems to be the ſame ſaid by Ariſtotle to have been diſcovered by the Carthaginians, Lib. de mirabil. auſcultat. where he ſays, " extra columnas Herculis aiunt in mari a Carthaginenſibus inſulam fertilem inventam, ut quæ tam ſylvarum copia, quam fluminibus navigationi idoneis abundet, cum reliquis fructibus floreat vehementer, diſtans a continente plurimum dierum itinere, &c."

Bochart confirms this by what he obſerves that the ancient writer Antonius Diogenes (who wrote twenty-four books of the ſtrange things related of Thule, not long after the time of Alexander the Great) had his hiſtory from certain tables of cypreſs wood digged at Tyrus out of the tombs of Mantima and Dercelis, who had gone from Tyrus to Thule, and had remained ſome time there.

The ſituation of Thule has been much controverted; yet all agree it was ſome place towards the north, with reſpect to the firſt diſcoverers, and

many make it to be one of the Britiſh iſles. This agrees perfectly with the ſituation of Ireland, for the Carthaginians in ſailing from Cadiz having once cleared Cape St. Vincent, had Ireland in a direct northern courſe before them.

The ancients ſeem moſtly to agree, that Thule was one of thoſe iſlands that are called Britiſh. Strabo, one of the moſt ancient and beſt geographers extant, ſpeaks thus; Pytheas Maſſilienſis ſays, it is about Thule, the furtheſt north of all the Britiſh iſles. Yet he himſelf maketh it nearer than Pytheas did: But I think, ſays he, that northern bound to be much nearer to the ſouth; for they who ſurvey that part of the globe, can give no account beyond Ireland, an iſle which lies not far towards the north, before Britain; inhabited by wild people almoſt ſtarved with cold; there, therefore, I am of opinion the utmoſt bound is to be placed; ſo that in his opinion, that which he calls Ireland muſt be Thule (*a*).

Catullus is of the ſame mind.

Sive trans altas
Graditur Alpes,
Cæſaris viſens
Monumenta magni,
Gallicum Rhenum,
Horribileſque et
Ultimos Britannos.

Whether he o'er the Alps his way purſue
The mighty Cæſar's monuments to view,
As Gallic Rhine and Britons that excel
In fierceneſs, who on the earth's limits dwell.

Serves

(*a*) Camd. Br. p. 1407.

Serves iturum Cæſarem in ultimos orbis
Britannos. HOR. (*b*).

Preſerve thou Cæſar ſafe, we thee implore,
Bound to the world's remoteſt Britons ſhore.

Cærulus haud aliter cum dimicat incola Thules,
Agmina falciſero circumvenit acta covina.
SILICUS ITALICUS.

As Thule's blue inhabitants ſurround
Their foes with chariots hook'd, and them confound.

Pliny places Thule among the Britiſh iſles, and Tacitus (*c*) ſays, when the Roman navy ſailed about Britain, deſpecta eſt et Thule, "they ſaw Thule alſo."

Statius ad Claud. Uxorem, deſcribes Thule to the weſtward of Britain.

—— et ſe gelidas irem manſuras ad Arctas,
Vel ſuper Heſperiæ vada caligantia Thules.

If in the cold north I go to abide,
Or on dark ſeas which weſtern Thule hide.

Although the Romans never were in Ireland, yet Statius, with the liberty of a poet, has certainly brought them there in this verſe, apparently for the honour of having them in Thule.

—— tu diſce patrem, quantuſque nigrantem
Fluctibus occiduis, feſſoque Hyperione Thulen
Intrarit, mandata gerens.

Learn, from thy ſight, how glorious he was,
When he did with the ſenate's order paſs

(*b*) Lib. 1. od. 35. (*c*) Vita Agric. ſupra.

O'er to dark Thule, in that ocean, weſt,
Where Phœbus gives his weary horſes reſt (*d*).

Qu. Where could he conduct them weſtward from Britain, but to Thule—to Ireland.

Sir R. Sibbald explains the tranſmarinæ Gentes or Scotorum a Circio, i. e. the Scots from the north-weſt and beyond the ſeas, mentioned by Bede, to be Scots and Pights, becauſe, ſays he, Ireland cannot be ſaid to lie to the north-weſt of the Roman province. I do affirm the Scoti or northern Iriſh, from whom all expeditions paſſed into Albion, lie due north-weſt of the Roman province.

Ireland was ever antiently remarkable for learning, it was the inſula ſanctorum. Stephanus Byzantinus ſays, ΙΕΡΝΗ, νῆσος ἐν τῷ πέρατι, πρὸς δυσμαῖς. Upon which words Holſtenius thus remarks, Ἱέρνη illa inſula eſt, quæ hodie Hibernia dicitur. Ariſtoteles de Mundo: Ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ γε μὴν νῆσοι μέγισταί τε τυγχάνουσι ὖσαι δύο, Βρεταννικαὶ λεγόμεναι, Ἄλβιον καὶ Ἱέρνη. *In Oceano inſulæ duæ ſitæ ſunt, quam maxime, quas Britannicas apellant, Albion et Ierna*: de hac vide plur. apud Andr. Schottum lib. 11. Obſervat. cap. 20. Feſto Avieno in ora maritima Hibernia vocatur *ſacra* inſula. Quod quam aliam ob cauſam fecerit nunc non ſuccurrit, niſi quod * Ἱερὴ legerit pro Ἱέρνη. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν, Ἱερναῖος, ὡς Λερναῖος. Et fœmininum Ἱερνὶς, quod apud Orpheum legitur Argon. v. 1179. Πὰρ δ' ἄρα νῆσον ἄμειβεν Ἱερνίδα (*e*).

Feſtus

(*d*) Camd. ſupra.

* Ἱερεὺς. Sacerdos. Augur a Plutarcho vectitur Ἱερήιον pro ἱερεῖον, τὸ, victima, ſacrificia.

(*e*) Holſten. in Steph. Byzant. de urb. p. 144.

Feſtus Avienus lived in the fourth century, therefore this was not named the holy iſland after St. Patrick's converſion, as ſome think, for he did not arrive here till the beginning of the fifth century; this muſt therefore be the iſland ſacred to Apollo (that is to Baal) of which Diodorus Siculus makes particular mention. See p. 281.

Thus, Arngrimus Jonas deſcribes Thule *(f)*:

——— penetravit ad Indos,
Ingeniumque potens ultima Thule colit.
His eloquence did reach the utmoſt Indies,
And powerful wit enlightened fartheſt Thule.

And then he adds; from whence it may fairly be inferred, that either Britain or (as Pliny will have it) ſome iſland of Britain was the ultima Thule; yet Sibbald will interpret *ſome iſland of Britain* to be Britain itſelf.

Again, "In the hiſtory of the kings of Norway, it is ſaid that king Magnus, in an expedition to the Orcades, Hebrides, Scotland and Britain, touched alſo at the iſland of Thule and ſubdued it." Here Scotland, Britain and Thule are very plainly diſtinguiſhed.

Wernerus Ralwingus ſays, in the time of pope Linus aroſe the Scottiſh nation of Picts and Hibernians in Albion, which is a part of England; that is, a nation of Picts and Hibernians aroſe in Albion a part of England. As plain and intelligible as this is, Sibbald will have Hibernia to be part of Scotland.

Strabo always mentions Thule and Britain as the Britiſh iſles. Speaking of Pytheas's blunders, he

(f) Specimen Iſland. hiſt. p. 2. p. 120.

he says, Ὅτι Πυθέας ὁ Μασσαλιώτης δυκῶν εἶναι φιλόσοφος, ψευδέστατος ἠλέγχθη ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ Θυλεν καὶ Βρεταννίας γεωγραφεῖ. Quod Pytheas Massilienſis, cum viſus ſit Philoſophus eſſe, in deſcriptione Thules ac Britanniæ, mendaciſſimus deprehenditur.

And thus an anonymous author *(g)* in the life of St. Cadrac, extracted ex membranis monaſterii S. Huberti in Ardenna, ſpeaking of the migration of the Iriſh, ſays, "Pactolus igitur Aſiæ fluvius Choriam Lydiamque regiones dividit, ſuper quem Choriſchon urbem manus antiqua fundavit; cujus incola lingua, et cultu nationem Græci multimodi laboris negotiis ſerviebant, &c.—itque Illiricos exeuntes fluctus, inter Baleares inſulas devecti ebuſum Hiſpanicum intraverunt. Nec multo poſt per Gaditanas undas occidentale pelagus ingreſſi, appulſi ſunt, rupibus quæ viſus hominum altitudine excedentes, antiqui erroris fama, columnæ Herculis dictæ fuerunt. Hinc illius Africo vento exurgente poſt immenſa pericula in *Tyle* vel Thule ultimam detorquentur.

Some derive the name Thule from the Arabic word *Tule*, which ſignifies afar off, and think it was in alluſion to this the poets uſually called it *ultima Thule*. Bochart derives it from a Phœnician word ſignifying darkneſs. But the words *Thual* and *Thuathal* in the Iriſh and probably in the Punic language ſignified the north, as alſo the left hand, agreeable to the oriental manner of naming the cardinal points with reſpect to their looking towards the eaſt in their devotions. Thus the north part of Munſter, in old manuſcripts is called *Thuathal-Mhumhan* or *Thuath-Mhumhan*, in Engliſh *Thomond*,

(g) Colg. p. 495. col. 1.

Thomond, and the ſouth part of the ſame province is named *Deas-Mhumhan*, in Engliſh *Deſmond*. So alſo the northern province of Ireland retains the word *Thual* to this day, in *Coige Thualle* & corruptè *Coige Ulla* (the *th* being an hiatus) in Engliſh *Ulſter*. See the Iriſh names of the cardinal Points more fully explained at page 269 of the following Eſſay.

To what I have already ſaid I will adjoin the opinion of a gentleman who has made many curious reſearches into the antiquities of Great Britain. "The Thule of the ancients ſeems moſt clearly to have been Ireland, from the manner in which Statius addreſſes a poem to Criſpinus, whoſe father had carried the emperor's commands to Thule.

——tu diſce patrem, quantuſque nigrantem
Fluctibus *occiduis*, *feſſoque Hyperione* Thulen
Intravit *mandata* gerens.

It ſhould alſo ſeem, from other parts of the ſame poem, that this general had croſſed from Scotland to the north of Ireland or Thule:

Quod ſi te magno tellus *frænata* parenti
Accipiat, quantum ferus exultabit Araxes?
Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos?
Cum tibi longævus referet trucis incola terræ,
Hic ſuetus dare jura parens, hoc ceſpite turmas
Affari; nitidas ſpeculas, caſtellaque longé.
Aſpicis? ille dedit cinxitque hæc mænia foſſâ.

STATIUS, v. 14.

Criſpinus's father, therefore, muſt have reſided ſome time in Scotland, from whence he went to Thule or Ireland; for the Hebrides (the only land to the weſt except Ireland) could not have been of ſufficient

cient conſequence for the emperor's commiſſion, or the fortifications alluded to; beſides, that the expreſſion of *feſſoque Hyperione* implies, that the land lay conſiderably to the weſtward (*h*).

Although Ireland be the firſt Thule diſcovered by the Carthaginians, ſays Sir Robert Sibbald, yet it is not that Thule in which the Romans were and made conqueſt of; for it is certain they never were in Ireland, properly ſo called. The *Horeſti*, that is the Highlanders were called *Hyberni*, ſays he, as being a colony from Ireland. Yet Strabo ſays, Qui *Iernen-Britanniam* viderunt, nihil de *Thule* dicunt (*i*). But ſeeing Scotland has thoſe within herſelf who are able to trace her original from the higheſt antiquity, I will only point out the fountain from whence I can conceive theſe truths are to be drawn, and offer ſome things which I would have them diligently to conſider; for in this point I profeſs myſelf a ſceptick.

Firſt therefore of their original, and then of the place from whence they were tranſplanted into Ireland. For it is plain, that out of Ireland (an iſland peopled by the Britons) they came over into Britain; and that they were ſeated in Ireland when they firſt became known to writers by that name. So Claudian ſpeaking of their inroads into Britain;

—— totam cum Scotus Hibernem, *
Movit et infeſto ſpumavit remige Thetis.
When Scots came thund'ring from the Iriſh ſhores
And th' ocean trembled ſtruck with hoſtile oars.

In

(*h*) See The poſſibility of approaching the north pole diſcuſſed, in page 62 of Miſcellanies by the hon. Daines Barrington. London 1781. Quarto.

(*i*) Lib. 1. p. 36. * Iernam

In another place,

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hiberne. *
And frozen Ireland moan'd the crowding heaps
Of murthered Scots (*k*).

The firſt inhabitants of Ireland came from Britain. Ireland was inhabited by Scots. Paulus Oroſius. lib. 1. cap. 2. He is an author of the fifth century.

Gildas who muſt have perfectly known that country, aſſures us, that in the 6th century the Picts and the Scots inhabited Ireland. Baſnage Hiſt. Eccleſ. (*l*). This teſtimony of Gildas is confirmed in our antient topography.

It was a received opinion in the time of Propertius, who lived under Auguſtus Cæſar, that the Iriſh were deſcended from the Scythians, witneſs that verſe, lib. 4. el. 3.

Hibernique Getæ, pictoque Britannia curru.

Whence it appears that the Iriſh were deſcended from the Getæ (Goths) a branch of the Scythians, the common origin of all the Celtic tribes who inhabited Europe.

Scytæ in quarta ætate mundi obtinuerint Hiberniam, ſays Uſher (*m*).

Britones in tertia mundi ætate in Britanniam, Scoti in quarta venerunt in Hiberniam. Huntingdon, lib. 1.

Hence it appears that the Scoti were a colony of the Scytæ; that they were the ſame people, and even preſerved and bore the ſame name with the alteration of one letter only, the *o* for the *y*, owing to

* Ierne.
(*k*) Camd. Brit. p. cxliv.
(*l*) Vol. I. p. 747.
(*m*) Prim. p. 731.

to the difference of pronunciation, *Scoytæ*, *Scotæ*, *Scoti* for *Scytæ*; and it is not improbable that the word *Celtæ* is likewiſe a corruption of *Scytæ*, in proceſs of time probably called *Scheltæ* or *Skeltæ*, *Keltæ* or *Celtæ*.

Ferociſſimi Gallorum ſunt, qui ſub ſeptentrionem habitant et Scythæ vicini ſunt; dicunt ex iis nonnullos antropophagos eſſe, ſicut Britannos qui Irin inhabitant.

Galatæ qui ad ſeptentrionem vergunt et Scytiæ vicini ſunt, ferociſſimi ſunt; eorum nonnullos dicunt hominibus veſci, ut Britannos qui Irim inhabitant.

Diodorus Siculus (*n*) ſuppoſes, as a thing known and out of diſpute, that the inhabitants of Ireland were Britons, and conſequently deſcended from the Gauls, Galatæ, Skeltæ or Celts.

Buchanan (*o*) confirms the Iriſh hiſtory, that numbers of Spaniards fled to Ireland, being much diſquieted in their own country by the Carthaginians and Romans, and that all the north ſide of Spain was poſſeſſed by Gallic colonies. He contradicts Tacitus, who ſays, the weſt ſide of Albium was poſſeſſed immediately by Spaniards, but that they came from Ireland; for, ſays he, all our annals relate that the Scots paſſed more than once out of Ireland into Albium; firſt of all under Ferguſius ſon of Ferchard. And Bede's account of the Scythians coming to Ireland by diſtreſs of weather correſponds with our Iriſh hiſtory.

At what period theſe Spaniards or mixture of Spaniards and Carthaginians emigrated from Spain

(*n*) Lib. 5. p. 214. edit. H. Steph. 1559.
(*o*) Edit. Edinb. Vol. 1. p. 61.

Spain to Ireland is variouſly related by Iriſh hiſtorians.

Keating from various authors fixes this emigration from Spain at the 280th year after Pharaoh periſhed in the Red Sea to 1000 years before Chriſt; but it is moſt probable it was about the time of Aſdrubal's defeat in Spain by Scipio and his brother Cneius, that is about 216 years before Chriſt; for at that time the Carthaginians were not only repulſed in Spain but in Africa, and the Balearic iſlands likewiſe; and many of the cantons of Spain at this time threw off the Carthaginian yoke and ſubmitted to the Roman power. Some of the Iriſh hiſtorians agree in this period.

Here it muſt not be forgotten, that all agree that Mileſius, who headed this colony from Spain, was only ſo named on this expedition from *mil* a champion, and that his proper name was *Gallamh*, i. e. the white hand, and this method of naming became common, as red hand, withered hand, &c.

The old name of Leinſter was *Galliain*, that is, the country of the Galls; many places yet retain the name as *Dun-na-Gall* (Donnegal), *Fion-na-Gall* (Fingal), *Port-na-Gall* (Gallorum portus) Galway, or *Gallamhain*, i. e. amnis Gallorum, *Tuamdalhalan* now Tuam, with many others.

In travelling through Ireland we frequently meet with mounts or raths, the repoſitories of the illuſtrious dead. In two very remarkable paſſages of the Iliad the poet intimates, that this was the practice both of the antient Greeks and Phœnicians, and their manner of burying their dead, particularly of their heroes

and

and eminent men, of which the monument of Patroclus in the 23d book of the Iliad, and that of Hector in the laſt, are remarkable inſtances. See alſo Virgil's Æneid lib. 11. &c. Lucan's Pharſalia, lib. 8. Et regnum cineres extructo monte quieſcunt. The Iriſh had alſo the common letter and the Ogham; and that they were both in uſe at one and the ſame time is evident from this paſſage in the antient book of Ballimote, fol. 146. Fiachra Mac Eacha Muighmheadhon (Righ Eirin) do ghuin ſan gcath ro ſhroin for Muineachaibh i Gcaenre. A ecc dia gonaibh iar tteacht go Hui-mac-uais Midhe, ro cladh a leacht & ro laigh, a fheart for au ſcribh, a Ainm Oghaim; i. e. Fiacra ſon of Eacha Moymedon was mortally wounded at the battle of Caonry, wherein he was victorious againſt the Momonians. On his return to Hy-mac-uais in Meath, he died of his wounds. His funeral leacht was erected, and on his tomb was inſcribed his name in the Ogam character. N. B. The battle of Caonry was fought A. D. 380.

That the Latin language was in later ages the common dialect of the Africans as well as the Punic, we learn from St. Auguſtine, who ſays he learned the Latin in Africa *inter blandimenta nutricum:* and the ſame author alſo notifies the decay of the Punic language in another part of his works, viz. de verbis Apoſtoli. "Proverbium notum eſt Punicum quod quidem Latinè vobis dicam, quia Punicè non omnes noſtis." St. Hierome alſo writing to a young noble Roman lady called Demetrias, being in Africa, ſays, "Stridor Punicæ linguæ procacia tibi feſcennina cantabit"—"the jarring

jarring Punic language ſhall ſing thee bawdy ſongs at thy wedding." From theſe authorities we may conclude, the Latin language and the Roman letter were common even in Carthage in the time of Plautus, and that the Punic ſpeech given by that author in his comedy of the Pœnulus, was written in the Roman letter.

The poſitive aſſertions of all the Iriſh hiſtorians, that their anceſtors received the uſe of letters directly from the Phœnicians, and the concurrence of them all in affirming that ſeveral colonies from Africa ſettled in Ireland, induced the author of the following eſſay, who had made the antient and modern language of Ireland his peculiar ſtudy for ſome years paſt, to compare the Phœnician dialect or Bearla Feni of the Iriſh with the Punic or language of the Carthaginians.

The affinity of the language, worſhip and manners of the Carthaginians, with thoſe of the ancient Iriſh appeared ſo very ſtrong, he communicated his diſcoveries from time to time to ſome gentlemen well ſkilled in the antiquities of Ireland, and of the eaſtern nations; their approbation of this rude ſketch induced the author to offer it to the conſideration of thoſe who have greater abilities and more leiſure to proſecute ſuch a work.

Well knowing the ridiculous light moſt etymologiſts are held in, the author has trod with all poſſible caution in this very remote path of antiquity. The arbitrary liberties taken by ſome etymologiſts have juſtly drawn on them the cenſure of the learned. Their general rule of the commutation of letters has often led many aſtray, and cauſed them to loſe

ſight

ſight of the radical word and its primitive ſenſe: thus for example, the word *adder* may by an etymologiſt unacquainted with the Engliſh language be turned to *otter*, for the *a* and *o* being both broad vowels are commutable, and the word may be written *odder*; the *d* being alſo commutable with *t*, the word may be formed to *otter*, an animal of a very different ſpecies from the primitive word *adder*.

Monſieur Bullet in his Memoirs de la Langue Celtique, has been guilty of the ſame error, in his etymon of the Britiſh names of rivers, towns, &c. as is obſerved by the ingenious tranſlator of Mr. Mallet's northern antiquities (*p*); and the learned Lhwyd has in my humble opinion ſucceeded little better in his collation of the Iriſh language with the Biſcayan or Baſque; between which I do aver there is no affinity, but between the Iriſh and the Punic I think I may affirm there is a greater affinity, than between the Iriſh and any other ancient language whatever.

Many learned men are of opinion that the Hebrew characters now uſed by the Jews were firſt invented by Ezra. Scaliger is ſo much convinced of this, he reproaches every one who is not of the ſame opinion; in his epiſtol. ad Thompſonum & Ubertum, he affirms, Græcas literas a Phœnicibus natas quibus omnes olim et Cananæi et Hebræi uſi ſunt, adhucque Samaritani utuntur; neque alias in uſu fuiſſe a temporibus Moſis ad excidium templi. Nam eæ, quibus Judæi hodie libros, et omnia acta ſua ſcribunt, nuperæ et novitiæ ſunt, ex Syriacis

(*p*) Preface, p. 14.

Syriacis depravatæ, illæ autem ex Samaritanis; quod cum luce clarus ſit, tamen quidam ſemidocti, ſemitheologi, et ut ſignatiùs loquar, ſemihomines non ſolùm Judaicas literas verè Hebraicas eſſe priſcas audent dejerare, ſed etiam impios putant, atque adeo vocant, qui aliter ſentiunt; miſeram verò doctorum et priorum hominum conditionem, ſi doctrinæ et pietatis ſuæ, non alios teſtes haberent, quam aſinos.

Grotius, Bochart, Morinus, Voſſius agree with Scaliger, and of the antients Hieronymus and Euſebius are of the ſame opinion. Certum eſt, ſays Hieronymus, Eſdram ſcribam, legiſque doctorem, poſt captam Hieroſolyman et inſtaurationem templi ſub Zorobabel, alias literas comperiſſe, quibus nunc utimur, cùm ad illud uſque tempus, idem Samaritanorum et Hebræorum characteros fuerint. And Euſebius ſays, affirmatur Eſdra divinas ſcripturas memoriter condidiſſe, et ut Samaritanis non miſcerentur literis, Judaicas commutaſſe. Scaliger further obſerves, he had ſeen coin of the Hebrews with inſcriptions in the Samaritan characters. Siclos quotidie circumferii qui ſub regibus Judæ in uſu fuerunt, quibus eadem literæ inciſæ ſunt quæ in ſcriptis Samaritanorum leguntur, ſine ulla aut exigua mutatione. Yet Angelus Rocca confirms what Diodorus Siculus ſays, (*q*) that the Phœnicians received their letters from the Syrians.

With the authority already quoted, we may venture to affirm, that the primitive Phœnician letters

(*q*) Συροι μὲν εὑρεῖαι γραμματων εισι, παρα δε τὼτων Φοινικες μάθοντες τοῖς Ελλησι παραδεδώκασιν. Syri quidem literarum inventores ſunt, ab illis autem Phœnices diſcentes Græcis tradiderunt.

letters were the ſame as the antient Samaritan. That the antient Spaniards had various alphabets and various languages, ſee Strabo, lib. 3. ſpeaking of the Turdetani, " Hi inter Hiſpaniæ populos, ſapientia putantur excellere, et literarum ſtudiis utuntur et memorandæ vetuſtatis volumina habent poemata, leges quoque verſibus conſcriptas ex ſex annorum milibus, ut aiunt. Cæteri autem Hiſpani uſum habent literarum non uno quidem genere, neque una illis lingua eſt.—Utuntur et reliqui Hiſpani grammatica non unius omnes generis, quippe ne eodem quidem ſermone.

That the preſent Iriſh character (improperly called the Roman Saxon) was formerly uſed in Spain, ſee the antient MSS. copied in Aldretes origin de la lingua Caſtellana, ch. 18.

Pꞃeꞅciuꞅ eꞇ ompeꞅ Oꞅ.

Preſcius et omnipotens Deus, &c. &c.

And that the Punic letter differed from the Greek, ſee Juſtin. lib. 20. in fin. " Facto ſenatus conſulto, ne quis poſtea Carthaginenſis, aut literis Græcis, aut Græco ſermoni ſtuderet, ne aut loqui cum hoſte, aut ſcribere ſine interprete poſſet."

It matters not in the preſent treatiſe, whether we acknowledge the Iriſh to be a Celtic, Pœno-Celtic, or Scytho-Celtic dialect; they all were originally the ſame; at the time of this iſland being firſt peopled, they were identically the ſame, as may be proved from language, cuſtoms and manners. I refer the reader to the Obſervationes Sacræ of the learned Campegius Vitringa, who publiſhed his works in quarto at Leovardia in 1689. His ſeventh chapter is entitled de Perſis, Scythis, horumque progenie,

progenie, populis ſeptentrionales regiones incolentibus, differitur, eorumque linguarum convenientia mutua inter ſe, et origo ex unâ Hebræâ linguâ oſtenditur. Proferuntur etiam ad finem exempla modorum loquendi integrorum, qui Hebræis ac Belgiis communes ſunt. I mean not, ſays he, to ſpeak of the Perſians ſo denominated by Xenophon, but of that more ancient people under the name of גיל *gnailim*, *gailim*, as we find them in ſacred hiſtory. Ἐλυμαῖοι, whoſe moſt powerful king was known in the age of Abraham, under the name of Cedorlaomer, apud Moſen. l. 1. c. 14. Strabo mentions the Elymæi, inhabiting between Media and Meſopotamia, l. 15. Γειτνια δὲ τῇ Σουσιδι της Βαβυλωνιας, &c. &c. i. e. Suſidi ea pars Babylonia proxima eſt, quæ quondam Sitacena, poſtea Apollionatis, eſt dicta: Ambabus a ſeptentrione orientem verſus Elymæi imminent, et Paratacæni, latrones, et aſperis montibus freti.

Symmachus and Procopius prove theſe Elymæi to be Scythians; Herodotus that they were neighbours to the Medes; and Bochart that they were the anceſtors of the Perſians.

Let us now collate the old Perſic words with the Iriſh, as we find them in Briſſonius de regno Perſarum, l. 11. p. 270.

חרס *cheres*, H. *ſol*, Perſic; *crian*, *cria*, *gria*, *grian*, Iriſh.

דה *dec*, *decem*, P. *deich*, Ir.

שאה *ſhac*, rex, P. *ſeadh*, Ir. potens.

נהר מלך *nar-malcha*, amnem regium. נגע-*malacè*, aqua regia.

Suren, *ſurena*, next in power to the king. Σωρήνα, Zoſimus; ab Ebræo שרי *ſari* vel שר *ſar*, princeps. Iriſh *ſaor* and *ſaoi*, a burgeſs, a noble; from whence the Engliſh Sir, and the French Mon-Sieur.

Gan-gamel, P. a camel's hovel; בן־גמלא Heb. i. e. *gan*, locum obtectum; Ir. *gan*, ſeptus, an incloſed place; *gan-ail*, a hovel, i. e. incloſed with ſtone and covered; *ganail-gamuil*, a camel's hovel; hodiè *ganir*, a hovel.

Heſychius ſays, that Δαρειος ὑπὸ Περσῶν is called φρόνιμος, inquiror; this is eaſily derived from the Hebrew דרש *daras*, inquirere; Iriſh *deara*, make particular enquiry or notice; δαιρε a proper name of the ſame ſignification with the Perſian Darius. Strabo ſays *Dareis*, *Darius*, *Dariaues*, differ only in their termination. Reland thinks it is derived from the Perſian *dara*, lord or maſter; or *darab*, i. e. in the water, becauſe, as they pretend, Darius was expoſed by his mother on the river Tigris. But after all, is not the name Darius derived from the Celtic δαιρ *dair*, an oak, the moſt ſtrong and majeſtic of all trees?

The celebrated Boxhornius has this remarkable paſſage from Strabo (*r*), "Sicut notæ verſus ſeptentrionem gentes uno prius nomine Scythæ, vel Nomades (ut ab Homero) appellabantur, ac poſtea temporis cognitis regionibus occiduis Celtæ, Iberi, aut mixto nomine Celtiberi ac Celto-Scythæ dici ceperunt, cum prius ob ignorantiam ſingulæ gentes imo omnes nomine afficirentur." Therefore all the nations which migrated northwards were called

(*r*) L. 1. p. 22.

called Scythæ. Thus there were the Aſiatic Scythians and the European Scythians.

The learned Mr. Selden alſo ſays (*s*), "Ad hunc certè modum qui occidentem inhabitabant plerumque omnes generatim Celtæ, qui auſtrum Æthiopes, qui ultra Syriam Indi, qui Boream Scythæ veteribus dicebantur. Quæ in fabulis de Syro rege, atque alia hujus nominis etyma conſulto præterimus. Hoc ſane nos acquieſcendum duximus.

It may be thought preſumptuous in any one to attempt an Eſſay of this kind after ſuch learned orientaliſts as Selden, Bochart, Voſſius, &c. who have all treated of the Punic language; yet the opinion of that learned body of men who compoſed the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres at Paris, gives room to think that an Iriſhman but little ſkilled in the Hebrew has an equal right to an attempt of this kind: take their own words.

"Pluſieurs ſavans, & entre autres M. Bochart dans ſon Phaleg, ontentrepris de prouver que le langue Phénicienne ètoit la même que l'Hebraique, & que la Punique ou celle de Carthage etoit auſſi la même. Il y a certainement une grand conformité, mais elle n'eſt pas telle qu'on puiſſe dire que ces langues fuiſſent les mêmes; car la peine que Scaliger, Saumaiſe, Petit, Bochart, & d'autres ont eue à expliquer la ſcene Punique du Pænulus de Plaute, en eſt une preuve auſſi bien que l'obſcurité des mèdailles & quelques inſcriptions Puniques, qui n'ont pû juſq'à preſent être *lües*, & encore moins

(*s*) De Dis Syr. proleg. p. 5.

moins *expliquées* par les ſavans, quoique les caracteres de la plupart ſoient très nets & très bien conſervez (*t*)".

With the greateſt deference this ſmall treatiſe is offered to the conſideration of the learned, and in particular to thoſe Iriſh antiquaries ſkilled in the Bearla Feni or Phœnician dialect of their own country, in which language their moſt antient records and codes of laws are written.

If an affinity of the Iriſh language with the Punic be allowed, this diſcovery will throw great lights on the darker periods of the Heathen Iriſh hiſtory. It will ſhow, that though the details be fabulous, the foundation is laid in truth. It will demonſtrate the early uſe of letters in this iſland, becauſe nothing but *that uſe* could preſerve the leaſt affinity from the flouriſhing era of Carthage to the preſent, a ſpace of more than 2300 years. It will account for the Iriſh aſſuming to themſelves the names of Feni or Fenicians, which they have retained through all ages. It will with the ſame certainty account for their giving the name of Bearla Feni (the Phœnician tongue) to one of their native dialects. In fine, it will ſhow, that when they adopted the Phœnician Syntax, they confined their language to oriental orthography, while it harmonized itſelf out of its primitive conſonantal Celtic harſhneſs, by the ſuppreſſion of many radical letters in the pronunciation of words.

Ex plane ratione Phœnicum vocem a Græcis fuiſſe puto ad inſtar Hebraicarum בני ענק Pheni-Anak, ac

(*t*) Mem. de l'academ. tom. 3. p. 30.

ac ſi filios Anac vel Anaceos dixeris. Rectius quidem ſcripſeris Bene-Anak; ſed Græci *Beth* Hebræum paſſim ita emolliunt, ut cum *Sophonem* dicit Joſephus pro *Soba*. Ut jam nemo miretur quod nos et Phœnices, et Punicos et Poenos pro iiſdem habeamus (*u*).

Or are we to be ſurpriſed at the aſſertions of the Iriſh Seanachies, of the Mileſians or Phenians finding themſelves underſtood by the natives at the time of their landing; for the antient Gauls, who alſo colonized this country as well as Britain, ſpoke the ſame Phenian dialect. Non eſt tamen quod quiſquam putet Poenis et Gallis aut eandem fuiſſe linguam aut ſola dialecto diverſam. Ita enim aſſerit Polybius de Autarito Gallo, *Punice loqui didicerat longo militiæ uſu* (*w*). Conſtat igitur Gallos et Poenos, et ſi propter commercia vel communia bella, vel, quod ſuſpicamur potius, propter vetuſtam aliquam Phoenicum coloniam in Gallias deductam, alii ab aliis multa vocabula mutuati ſint.

(*u*) Boch. geog. ſacr. p. 362.
(*w*) Id. p. 758.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

ANTIQUITY

OF THE

IRISH LANGUAGE.

IT has been generally thought, that the Iriſh language, is a compound of the Celtic, and old Spaniſh, or Baſque; whoever will take the pains to compare either of theſe languages with the ancient manuſcripts of the Iriſh, will ſoon be convinced, that the Iriſh partakes not the leaſt of the Biſcayan.

On a collation of the Iriſh with the Celtic, Punic, Phœnician and Hebrew languages, the ſtrongeſt affinity, (nay a perfect identity in very many words) will appear; it may therefore be deemed a Punic-Celtic compound; and the following Eſſay will prove this to be ſomewhat more than a bare conjecture.

The Iriſh is conſequently the moſt copious language extant; as from the Hebrew proceeded the Phœnician, from the Phœnician, Carthaginian or Punic, was derived the Æolian, Dorian and Etruſcan, and from theſe, was formed the Latin; the

Iriſh is therefore a language of the utmoſt importance, and moſt deſirable to be acquired by antiquaries and etymologiſts.

The Iriſh hiſtorians do all agree, that they received their letters from the Phœnicians, and that their language was called *bearla Féne* or the Fenician dialect, of which their ancient manuſcripts bear ſufficient teſtimony.

Keating (*a*), and M'Curtin in their general hiſtories of Ireland, and the M'Firbiſs's (authors of the Liber Lecanus), all confirm the arrival of the Fomhoraicc's or African pirates in Ireland at ſeveral periods: that they introduced the art of building with ſtone and lime, aſtronomy, &c. that they adored certain ſtars ſuppoſed to have power from the God of the Sea, either to guide or miſlead the ſhips: that at length they over-ran the country, and made a complete conqueſt, drove out the Nemedians, and laid the iſland under tribute. Spencer, who bears as hard on the Iriſh, and with arguments futile as Macpherſon's, allows, that they received the uſe of letters from the Phœnicians, and poſitively aſſerts, that a colony of Africans ſettled in the weſtern part of Ireland. Oroſius and even ſome modern authors, have gone ſo far as to deny the uſe of letters to the Carthaginians, before the Romans conquered that republic, and as a proof of this they quote many inſcriptions in Roman characters from various places in Africa.

It

(*a*) Keating's Hiſt. Ireland, Dublin edit. p. 18, 19. Collectanea Lib. Lecan. p. 1, 2, 3. M'Curtin's Antiq. of Ireland, p. 39. Spencer, p. 1546.

It is true, the Carthaginians adopted the Roman letter in the firſt Punic war, which character it is very probable they brought with them to Ireland, as no inſcription has been found in this iſland in the Phœnician letter. It is evident from the order of the alphabet and from the figure of the letters in the ancient manuſcripts, that the Iriſh did not receive the uſe of letters, or the alphabet from St. Patrick; nay, that ſaint in his own life declares that Fiech, poet laureat to Laogaire at the time of his arrival, found ſo little alteration in the character that he read the Latin goſpels in fourteen days, in two months after he embraced Chriſtianity, and alſo compoſed an ode in praiſe of that ſaint.

Of the Roman Saxon capital letters, the Iriſh uſe but three, all the others bear a very great reſemblance to the primitive Hebrew and Phœnician, as given us by Scaliger and Poſtellus; and in the Chaldaic characters given us by the latter, are to be found, all thoſe uſed by the ancient Iriſh, bearing the ſame figure and power.

Pliny ſays (*b*), the Romans held the Carthaginian writings on agriculture and botany, in ſo great eſteem, that after the ſacking of Carthage, they ordered twenty-eight volumes on theſe ſubjects, the work of Mago or Magon, to be tranſlated into the Latin language; and that Q. Septimius tranſlated the hiſtory of the Trojan war from the Punic into the Latin. Again, that author (*c*) mentions the memoirs of Hanno's voyage to the W. coaſt of Africa, being tranſlated into Latin by order of

(*b*) L. 18. c. 4. (*c*) L. 2. c 67.

the ſenate, the original of which was a long time preſerved with great care in the public library.

Almoſt all the Carthaginian manuſcripts were committed to the flames, and the hiſtory of this brave and learned people, has been written by their moſt bitter enemies, the Greeks and Romans; in this too they reſemble the Iriſh (*d*):—Quand l'horrible deſbord des Arabs et Sarraſins fut faict lors que les Sciſmatiques, qui laiſſerent le pontiſe de Bagadeth, paſſerent en Afrique, les roys Mahometiſtes feirent bruſler tous les liures des Africains, affin que par la lecture d'iceux ils ne ſe reuoltaſſent de la religion de leur alcoran, et ainſi l'ignorance a causè la ruine de ce peuple iadis tant gentil, riche, courtois et ſcavant, lequel on eſtime auoir eu aux ſiecles paſſez des characteres de lettres à luy propres, tirées et extraictes des characteres des lettres des Chananeens, Syrians, et Phœniciens iuſques à ce que les Romains s'en firent ſeigneurs leſquels y introduirent, comme dict-eſt, les characteres de leurs lettres Latines.

From Pliny (*e*) we learn, that the Carthaginians were the firſt that traded by ſea; and that they had great ſkill in the art of building, which they inherited from the Tyrians. See this more fully under the article of Hercules.

Herodotus ſays (*f*), the Phœnicians were of a moſt happy genius: arithmetic and aſtronomy either took their riſe with them, or were brought by

(*d*) C. Duret Bourb. H. de l'Origine des Langues de ceſt Univ. p. 393.
(*e*) L. 71. c. 56. Univ. Hiſt. 8vo. vol. 2. p. 338.
(*f*) L. 5. c. 58.

by them to great perfection. From them thoſe excellent ſciences flowed into Greece together with their letters.

The Phœnicians traded to all the known parts of the world, in which were included the Britiſh iſles, commonly underſtood by the name of the *Caſſiterides* (*g*).

They had two kinds of ſhips, called (*h*) *gali* and (*i*) *argo* (*k*), the firſt moved only by the wind, and were chiefly deſigned for trade, the laſt moved by wind and oars, and were ſhips of war. Gaulus genus navigii pene rotundum.

Their firſt ſettlement in Spain was at the iſland of Gadiz or Cadiz, where they met with a friendly reception from the inhabitants, therefore Hercules called it (*l*) Cadiz.

Polybius (*m*) informs us, that the Carthaginians were the firſt foreign nation the Romans entered into an alliance with, out of their own continent; that a treaty of commerce and navigation was confirmed between them as early as the conſulſhip of Brutus, which treaty was engraved on a marble pillar; and that this inſcription was diſcovered ſo ſoon after as the ſecond Punic war, when not a Roman was to be found who could read it. Such an alteration had the Latin tongue ſuffered in ſo ſhort a ſpace!

I am not of Galateus his opinion, that the Punique tongue was utterly extinguiſhed by the Romans. (Galat.

(*g*) Huet. Hiſt. de la Nav. des Anc. p. 58.
(*h*) Iriſh *gal*, a gale of wind.
(*i*) *Arga*, champions, warriors; *argadh* to plunder.
(*k*) Feſtus, p. 162.
(*l*) Iriſh *cadas*, friendſhip.
(*m*) L. 3. c. 23.

(Galat. de Situ. Japyg. p. 98.) Nor can I agree with the whims and fancies of ſome learned men, that it was the vulgar Arabic ſpoken in Africa at this day. (See Geſner. in Mithridat. in Ling. Afric. et Arab. Roccha de dialect in Ling. Arab. Poſtellus de Ling. 12. in Ling. Arab. Maſ. in Gr. Syriaca, Bibliand. de ratione Linguar. Schindler. Lex. Pentaglotto in voce קרח. Mart. Galeott. de doctr. promiſcua, cap. 6. and many others.

For it is well known the Pœni were of another offspring and not of Arabian race, and that it is not yet 1000 years, ſince that tongue was brought by the Arabians into Africa.

And as certain alſo it is, that the remnants of the Africans progeny, as Leo Africanus hath recorded, have a different language from the Arabic. The Punic tongue, without doubt, was the Canaanitiſh or old Hebrew language, ſomewhat altered from the original pronunciation, as uſually befalls all coloniſts planted amongſt ſtrangers. That Carthage and divers other cities of Africa (of which Pliny nameth Utica and Leptis as the principal) were colonies of the Phœnicians, namely of the Tyrians, is not only acknowledged by Strabo, Mela, Livy, Pliny and many others, but alſo the very names of Pœni and Punici being but variations of the name; Phœnicii import ſo much, and laſtly their language confirms it. For Hierome writing, that their language was grown ſomewhat different from the Phœnician tongue, doth manifeſtly declare, it had been the ſame. Now the Phœnicians were Canaanites, of whoſe merchandizing we read ſo much in ancient

ancient hiſtories, and whoſe name כנענים Canaim (Iriſh Canaithe) ſignifieth merchants.

For, the very ſame nation that the Grecians called Phœnicians (Φοίνικες) and the Romans in imitation of that name *Pœnos* and *Punicos*, for the exceeding ſtore of good palms wherewith that country abounded, in ſo much that in monuments of antiquity the palm tree is obſerved for the enſign of Phœnicia; the ſame nation I ſay called themſelves, and by the Iſraelites their next neighbours were called Canaanites.

And, that they were indeed no other, I am able eaſily to prove. For firſt, the ſame woman that in Matthew xv. 22. is named a Canaanite, is in Mark vii. 26. called a Syro-Phœnician. Secondly, where mention is made in Joſhua of the kings of Canaan, they are in the ſeptuagint tranſlation named βασιλεῖς της Φοινίκης. Thirdly, to put it out of all queſtion, all that coaſt from Sidon to Azah (that was Gazah) near to Gerar, is regiſtered by Moſes, Gen. x. 19. to have been poſſeſſed by the poſterity of Chanaan.

Herodotus ſays, the language of the Phœnicians was a dialect of the Hebrew; it was that of the Canaanites. Their letters or characters were the ſame, or very like the Samaritan characters (*n*).

The Phœnician language being a dialect of the Hebrew, and the Pœni or Carthaginians having been originally Phœnicians, it is undeniable their firſt language muſt have been Phœnician. However

(*n*) See Doctor Shaw's remarks on the Showiah language, and Mr. Jones's on the Shilhæ, in the eſſay on the Celtic language prefixed to the Iriſh Grammar, pag. 12, &c. of the ſecond edition.

ever Scaliger ſays (*o*), that the Punic in ſome reſpects deviated from the Hebrew and Phœnician; which, conſidering how diſtant the Carthaginians were from their mother country Phœnicia, and the people they were incorporated among, is not to be wondered at; it is much more wonderful that they ſhould retain ſo much of their original tongue.

Theſeus Ambroſius (*p*) had ſeen ſome Punic writings; he gives two alphabets, one of which he calls the original character of the Phœnicians, the other the Phœnician-Ionic: whether this author had ever ſeen a grammar of their language, I cannot ſay; but he gives us the declenſion of a noun ſubſtantive, which ſo perfectly agrees with the Iriſh, I ſhall here preſent it to the reader. "Varias "atque differentes eſſe Punicorum, Carthaginen- "ſium, ſive Arabicorum elementorum formas, ita "clarum eſſe ſuſpicor, ut probatione non ſit opus; "ſunt quippe mihi plus quam triginta librorum "capita, tum parva, tum magna, et volumine duo "quæ explicata ad quinque ferè brachiorum longi- "tudinem ſe extendunt, &c."

Ex. Gr.

Punic.	Iriſh.
Nom. a dar the houſe	N. an dae the houſe
Gen. mit ta dar	G. meud na dae (the bigneſs of the houſe
Dat. la dar	D. la dae with or to the houſe
Acc. a dar	A. an dae the houſe
Voc. ya dar	V. a dae O houſe
Abl. fa dar	Ab. fa dae with or by the houſe.

It

(*o*) Ad Ubert. p. 362. (*p*) In his Appendix.

It is very remarkable, that all the Iriſh grammarians ancient and modern, have followed this method of expreſſing the genitive, by the ſubſtantive *meud* prefixed as in the example above.

In the dative, *la* in old manuſcripts is equal to *dona* or *don*, as *leighios Canoin la German*, i. e. *legit Canones ad Germanum*, vita. S. Patricii. Fiach apud Colganum.

In the plural, *dar* is turned into *diar*, by the addition of the vowel *i*; the ſame rule ſubſiſts in the Iriſh language.

Selden and Scaliger are the firſt who endeavoured in earneſt to ſettle the Punic language. As for Petit and Bochart they have been much more copious on this head; however there is ſtill room enough left for any learned man to exerciſe his wit and talents on this ſubject.

M. Maius, profeſſor of the Greek and Oriental languages in the Ludovician univerſity of Gieſſen, (*q*) publiſhed a ſmall piece in 1718, wherein he proves, that the preſent language of the Malteſe contains a great deal of the old Punic. He was ſupplied with the materials for this tract by father James Staniſlaus John Baptiſt Ribier de Gattis, a miſſionary Jeſuit, and native of Malta, who died at Oxford in 1736. One of the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory knew this father Ribier. He confirmed to this perſon by word of mouth, every particular he had communicated to Maius, and added ſome others; to wit, that he had carefully examined moſt of the oriental words in the Malteſe tongue,

(*q*) J. H. Maius in ſpec. ling. Punic. in hod. Melitens.

tongue, and found that they approached much nearer the Hebrew, and Chaldee, than the Arabic (*r*); that the natives had a ſort of tradition, that they were deſcended from the Carthaginians, &c. &c. Some ſmall manuſcripts relating to the preſent ſubject, he left in the hands of the perſon above mentioned.

If this ſmall treatiſe ſhould fall into the hands of the perſon now in poſſeſſion of the above papers, and he will be pleaſed to communicate a copy of them, directed to the committee of Iriſh antiquaries at the Dublin Society's houſe, in Grafton-ſtreet, Dublin, the favour will be moſt gratefully acknowledged, and the expence of tranſcribing repaid.

Andrew Theuet ſays (*s*), the language of the old inhabitants of the iſland of Malta favours ſtrongly of the ancient Punic or Carthaginian language, and that an ancient marble was diſcovered in Malta with theſe words, *Eloi Effetha et Cumi.*

And in another place he adds, " The Malteſe " have always preſerved the Moreſque and African " language, not that as ſpoken this day by the " Moors, but the dialect formerly ſpoken by the " inhabitants of Carthage, and as a proof, the " Malteſe underſtand ſome of the verſes in Plautus, " which are in the Carthaginian language.

Quintus Hœduus in a letter to his friend Sophus, dated Malta 20 Jan. 1533, has theſe words, " Noſtra hæc Melita inſula eſt Millib. 60. Mari " ſatis periculoſo ab Sicilia disjuncta Africam verſus " Punicæ quondam ditionis quæ et ipſa adhuc

" Aphrorum

(*r*) Un. Hiſt. vol. 17. 8vo. p. 298. note.
(*s*) Coſmog. l. c. 12.

" Aphrorum lingua utitur; et nonullæ etiamnum
" Punicis litteris inſcriptæ ſtellæ lapidæ extant;
" figura et appoſitis quibuſdam punctulis, prope
" accedunt ad Hebræas. Atque ut ſcias aut nihil
" aut minimum differe a vetere, quod nunc habet
" Idioma Hannonis cujuſdam Pæni apud Plautum,
" Avicennæ, hujuſque ſimilium punica verba
" plurima intelligunt Melitenſes, tametſi ſermo is
" ſit qui litteris Latinis exprimi bene non poteſt
" multo minus ore aliquo enunciari, niſi ſuæ gentis.
" Ejuſdem quoque ſunt linguæ verba illa in Evan-
" gelio *Eloi epſta Cumi.* Nunc ſiculi juris eſt ac
" maris."

G. Pietro Franceſco Agius de Solandis, publiſhed a treatiſe *della Lingua Punica preſentemente uſata da Malteſi*, &c. &c. to which he added a Punica-Malteſe dictionary; from this book, the author of this eſſay has taken the following Punic words, omitting ſuch only as Agius declares to be purely Hebrew or Arabic. To theſe are annexed ſuch Iriſh words as correſpond thereto in letter and ſenſe.

It will be neceſſary firſt to ſhow the reaſon why the orthography in ſome do not ſo cloſely correſpond, although the pronunciation and meaning do, and this is beſt expreſſed from the author's own words.

" Conoſco invero eſſere alquanto malagevole im-
" preſa il favellare della lingua Punica-Malteſe, e
" l'andarne a riceercare l'origine, non avendone
" pure preſentemente il proprio alfabeto, quale per
" altro non le mancò in altri tempi.

" Ciò

" Ciò non oſtante andano al fonte, da cui è ori-
" ginata queſta favella, uſata ſolo a mio parera
" nelle Iſole di Malta, Gozo, e Pantallarea, ritrovo
" che molti Scrittori accreditati, anno dato il pro-
" prio giudizio ſenza però provarlo. Fra queſti
" chi credetella ſola Araba, chi Carthagineſe, chi
" Ebrea, chi Fenicia, chi Greca, chi Punica, chi
" Samaritana, e chi finalmente Siriaca. Quanti
" giudizi ſopra una ſola lingua? De' noſtri appieno
" niuno parlonne, degli Stranieri ſolamente *Gio.*
" *Arrigo Majo*, celebre profeſſore delle lingue
" Orientali in Jeſſa, dimoſtro in *due Diſſertazione*,
" con proue ed autorità valevoli, eſſere la noſtra
" lingua propriamente *Punica*.——La lingua Pu-
" nica certamente venne pronunziata anticamente
" colla gorgia, e ne reſta provato in quel piccol
" monumento, che la *Scena prima di Plauto* ci ha
" laſciato col carattere Latino."

All etymologiſts agree that where the letter and the ſenſe correſpond in any two languages, they muſt be *identically* the ſame; before we proceed to the collation it may not be improper to adverti ſe the young etymologiſt, that in moſt languages the letter *d* is commutable with *t*; *b* with *p*; *c* with *g*; *bh*, *mh* with *v* conſonant; that the broad vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, are indifferently written one for the other, as alſo the ſmall vowels *e*, and *i*, are often ſubſtituted one for the other; that in the Iriſh language an adventitious *d* with an hiatus, or *dh*, is often introduced in ſyllables, where two or more vowels are connected: this liberty was taken by the Iriſh poets of the ninth and tenth centuries, to make up the juſt metre, although the *dh* is not allowed to divide the ſyllable.

Punica

Punica Malteſe.	Iriſh.
Alla, God.	*All*, mighty, omnipotent. *Ailt-dhe* pænates.
Samem, (*t*) the Heavens.	*Samh*, the Sun, *ſambra*, ſummer.
ſema, an aſſembly.	*ſamhadh*, a congregation.
Baal, Sidoniorum ſeu Phœnicum, et *Belus* Kartaginienſium numinis nomen eſt: ut *Bel* Chaldeorum *Saturnus*.	*Bel, Bal, Beal*, the chief Deity of the ancient Iriſh.
Allai bier eq, God bleſs you.	*Iall* (pro ealta Lhwyd) *beira dhuit*, may you repent. God forgive you.
iva b'alla, a curſe.	*Jobhadh* (*pronounced iva*) *bi o Alla*, may death come from the Almighty.
tummin, truly.	*tam ann*, that's true, truly.
ara! interjectio.	*arah!* an interjection.
ardu, the end or ſummit.	*arda*, high, haughty. *ard*, a hill.
artap, liquido, molle, vizzo, ſoft, flabby.	*anairt*, ſoft.—*tap* is an affix of the Arabic, ſignifying the overflowing of a river, hence *artap* may imply ooze, flab, mire—from *tap*, the Iriſh *tap-bior, topar, tobar*, a well or ſpring.
baghda, hatred, ſtrife.	*bāgh*, a conteſt, a fight.
ballut, an acorn, alſo a burying place, a monument.	*bal-lacht*, the wall of a grave, a monument.

bandla,

(*t*) Philo Byblius ex Sanchoniathone Beyretio τοῦτον θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον ΒΕΕΛΣΑΜΗΝ καλοῦντες, ὅ ἐστι παρὰ Φοινιξὶ Κύριος Οὐρανοῦ Ζεὺς δὲ παρ' Ελλησι, hunc deum putabant ſolum cœli dominum, Beeltamin vocantes, quod eſt Phœnicibus dominus cœli, Zeus Græcorum. Bayerus, p. 69.

Punica Malteſe.	Iriſh.
bandla, a cord, a ſwing, a meaſure.	*bann*, ſuſpenſion. *bandla* and *bandal*, a certain meaſure uſed in the ſouth, ſomewhat more than half a yard, by which coarſe linens are ſold in the markets under the name of bandal cloth. *bannlāmh*, a bandle, a cubit in meaſurement.
ban-gham-mi, the ſon of my uncle.	*ban* is a ſon, as in the compound. *banſcoth*, a ſon-in-law. *banta*, is alſo a niece.
ghamt, an aunt.	*gean*, a woman. *ingean*, a daughter.
berqarqara, or *caſall bercarcara*, in Malta il piu vicino *Citta Valetta*, i. e. *bel* antica; *berquara* Auguſta, grande, i. e. antico Auguſto Villagio di Malta.	*barrachas*, auguſt, great power—overplus.
bin or *ben*, a ſon.	*bar-cathar*, (*cahar*) an auguſt city. *ban* or *bar*, as banſcoth, a ſon-in-law.
beni tè mutha, figlio de la morte.	*mughaim*, to be put to death. *teadh*, to grieve. *bani teadh mugha.*
bir, a well, a fountain.	*bior*, *bir*, a fountain, a well.
bua, or *bva*, to drink.	*buadh*, food, *ibba*, to drink.
beniet, young women.	*benne-ette*, woman's age.
abu! voce ammirativà!	*abo!* the war cry of the ancient Iriſh—now a common interjection of admiration.
challa, or *challi*, to forſake, to abandon.	*caillidh*, to loſe, to deſtroy. *ſeala*, to ſeparate.
chall, ſharp.	*calg*, a prick, a ſting.
chafir, to pardon.	*cabhar*, help, aſſiſtance, relief. *for*, protection, defence.

chèlès,

Punica Malteſe.	Iriſh.
chèlès, ſolution, reſolution, determination.	*ceil*, ſenſe, reaſon; *do chur a cceil*, to demonſtrate.
ciacir, meandring, ſcattering.	*cearacadh*, wandering, ſtraying.
da ſra, treſſes, or locks of hair.	*fraigh*, a buſh of hair.
daqqa, an act or deed.	*deacdah*, a law.
dar, a houſe, and improperly written (ſays our author) *dars*.	*dars*, a habitation; *dāe*, a houſe; *riogh-dhae*, a palace.
dar el binat, a nunnery, a houſe for young women.	*dāe or daras na bene*, a nunnery. (See the word *ben*, O Brien's dictionary.)
dar, *dir*, deſire, will.	*deoir*, will, pleaſure. (Lhwyd, at the word voluntas.)
	deoir dior, a proper inclination.
ghogiol (armentum) a herd of cattle.	*giogail*, to follow cloſe, to herd.
fart, an ox, bull or cow.	*fearb*, an ox, or cow; *mart*, the ſame; *og-wart*, an heifer.
fabhal, a ſpiteful expreſſion, alſo deriſion.	*fala*, ſpite, malice.
fabhal, a ſtall fed ox. Thus we call a libertine *fabhal*, and to a harlot, we commonly cry, *baqra* or *baqar*.	*fail*, a ſtye, a ſtall; as *fail muice*, a pig-ſtye.
	baccaire and *boccar* are terms of reproach in Iriſh, fully anſwering the idea of the Punic word.
barra, beſides, out of.	*bārr*, over and above, beſides, the end.
baſc, below, at the bottom.	*bas*, the baſe or bottom.
babu, to empty, to make void.	*bāthamb*, (pronounced *babu*) to cancel, to blot out.
bedui, a countryman.	*bodach*, a ruſtic, a clown.
beit, a houſe.	*bath*, *boith*, a cottage, hut, or booth.

bet-al,

Punica Malteſe.	Iriſh.
bet-al, domus Dei.	*both-all*, domus Dei.
bet e lem, domus panis.	*both-lan*, domus ſatietis.
dem, blood, kindred.	*daimh*, kindred, conſanguinity.
dor's, fruit.	*toradh*, fruit.
feithh, to open, to diſcover.	*feithea*, to overlook, to give attention.
emma, but.	*amh*, but, even, alſo.
engkarra, impoſition.	*aincheard*, an impoſtor. *aincheara*, impoſition.
eſma, hear me, hearken.	*eiſd me*, hear me, liſten to me, more properly *eiſd liom.*
far, over, beyond, to tranſport from place to place.	*for*, over, beyond; *foraimh*, a journey.
farac, mirth, conſolation.	*forc*, *forca*, advice, conſolation. *foch*, entertainment, hoſpitality.
fieg-ku, powerful, puiſſant.	*feadhmach*, potent, powerful. *feadh-cuaith*, an extenſive country, (dominions.)
filſta, a rock in the ſea, on the Malteſe coaſt, ſo called becauſe, formato della natura agguiſa di Pape nella forma.	*feile-fla*, an arrant bad ſovereign, a bad maſter.
fuq, the ſummit, high above.	*fa-uachdar*, upon the ſummit.
gha-dira, ſtanding water, marſhy ground, fluſh.	*go* or *ga*, the ſea; *ga-direm*, water without paſſage.
ghain, the face, front, the eyes.	*cainſi*, the face or countenance.
ghana, to ſing.	*canadh*, *ccanadh*, (pronounced *gana*) to ſing; *do ghan ſe* he ſings.
aghniq, rich, proſperous.	*aghmhárach*, fortunate, proſperous.
gh-arma, plenty of corn.	*armhar*, or *arl-har*, corn. *aga-armhar*, plenty of corn.
gha-qal, ſenſible, reaſonable.	*go-céill*, ſenſible, reaſonable.

gha-aqqa,

Punica Malteſe.	Iriſh.
ghà-aqqa, a term uſed to mortify a ſtrumpet. I believe (ſays our author) from *acca*, a famous harlot in our hiſtory.	*giabhair*, a harlot, a ſtrumpet. *aga*, addition, an augmentative. *giabhair-aga*, a very whore.
ghaz-el, diſtinction, comprehenſion.	*ceaſa*, *geaſa*, to ſee plainly and diſtinctly; the Arabic affix *el*, anſwers to the Iriſh prefix *con*, as *ad con-ceas*, I diſtinguiſhed, or ſaw plainly.
gherq, tyhoides coccineus tuberoſus, ſea blubber, ſea ſpunge.	*gearg*, a blubber, botch, or bile, any tubulous body.
ghuſcia, a place in Malta, but properly a ſorcerer, a conjurer.	*gu-ſighe*; *gu* a lie—*ſighe* a demon, a familiar ſpirit; *geaſa*, ſorcery.
gibu, to give, to preſent.	*geibhadh*, to obtain, to get.
leckart, a gift.	*ti-laca*, a gift.
hhabba, corn.	*arbhar*, corn.
hhadár, to aſſiſt at a wedding.	*adharadh*, to join together.
hbai, to live.	*beatha*, to live.
hbaia, life.	*beatha*, life.
hh-alleitu, releas'd, abandon'd.	*dealuighthe*, releaſed, divorced, ſeparated.
hhami, hot.	*time*, heat, (Lhwyd. vid. Calor.)
hham ria, reddiſh earth. alſo	*uim*, earth; *ria*, ſky coloured. *ruadh*, red. *uim-rua*, red earth.
hham-ria, an aſs, I believe (ſays our author) from his dun colour.	*aimhréidhe*, obſtinacy, ſtrife; This word ſeems more analogous to the qualities of this beaſt.
hh-apas, a priſon for ſlaves.	*adhbhas*, a garriſon; *abas*, a great man's houſe; *adhbha*, a dungeon.
haqem, a man in power, a captain.	*acmhuin*, potent, able; *air-gim*, to plunder or ſpoil.

Punica Malteſe.	Iriſh.
haten, knowledge.	*aitne*, knowledge; *aithni*, to know.
hazer, an entrance, or fore-court to a palace.	*aſaidh*, to reſt, or ſtop.
hhabar, news, novelty.	*abhra*, a ſpeech; *abar*, ſpeak thou.
	abrann, bad news.
hhaniena, pity, (voca fenicia)	*anaoidhin*, pity, compaſſion; *is anaoidhin dhuit*, woe unto thee.
iaſſu, old age.	*aoiſe*, old age.
ieqerdu, ruin, deſtruction.	*eag-orda*, ruinous fragments, (Lhwyd. ad voc. Ruina.)
iaſ-ceſc, ſhrivelled with age.	*aois-caiſeac*, wrinkled with age.
i-dein, the hand, the fiſt.	*dorn*, the fiſt.
itqatta, twiſted.	*athcaſda*, twiſted.
itzahhar, to expand.	*athſearradh*, to ſtretch, to expand.
kadin, a prolongation of time.	*cáirde*, delay; *do chur ſe air cairde*, he prolonged the time.
kafar, to bind to a performance.	*caithfidh*, muſt, ought, (oportet) an impersonal compulſive verb.
	comh-farran, to keep by compulſion.
ghana, to ſing.	*canadh*, to ſing.
kàrès, cruel, mercileſs.	*cruas*, rigour.
kaſma, a gap, a chink, a ſeparation.	*caſnadh*, ſplit-wood, chips.
kſim, to divide, to bend.	*caſam*, to wind, to turn, to bend.
ka-vi, ſtrong, valiant, robuſt.	*cath-fhir*, warriors.
'k-aura, a place in Malta; *ſignifica ponente*, the weſt.	*agiathar*, *agiare*, in the weſt. *ahhor*, Hebrew, aſterius, the weſt.

It is to be wiſhed we had the pure Punic names of the four cardinal points, as the Iriſh language differs from all others in this particular; although the manner of expreſſion agrees perfectly with the old Hebraical or ſcriptural. Firſt, The Hebrew word *Jamin* properly ſignifies the *right hand* (*u*), and *Benjamin*, i. e. filius dextra, is alſo written to imply the *South* (*w*); becauſe the Hebrews in their prayers to God always faced the Eaſt, and therefore being conſidered in that poſition, their right hand was next to the South. *Jamin eſt mundi Plago Auſtralis, ut quæ Orientem aſpicientibus, orantium modo dextra eſt.* Dav. Lex.—— This form is alſo peculiar to the Iriſh nation and language, for the word *deas* properly means the right hand, as *na ſhuidhe ar deas laimh Dè*, ſitting at the right hand of God, and *deas* is alſo the only word to expreſs the South.

Secondly, The Hebrew word *ſinol*, which properly ſignifies the left hand (*x*), is uſed for the ſame reaſon to imply the North (*y*), and is the ſame in Iriſh; for *thuaidh* is properly the left hand, as *tuathallach*, a left-handed or undextrous man, is the only proper word, viz. *tuath* and *tuag* to point out the North.

Thirdly, The Hebrew word *achór*, which properly ſignifies behind (*z*), is commonly uſed to imply the Weſt (*a*), and the Iriſh word *iar* ſignifying behind or after, is the proper word to expreſs the Weſt.

(*u*) Jerem. xx. 24. (*w*) Job xxiii. 9 Pſ. lxxxix. 4.
(*x*) Gen. xxiv. 49. xlviii. 14. (*y*) Job xxiii. 9.
(*z*) Gen. ix. 28. 2d Sam. x. 9. (*a*) Joſh. ix. 12. Job xxiii. 8.

Fourthly, The Hebrew word *cedem*, which naturally means before, or the fore part (*b*), is uſed to ſignify the Eaſt (*c*). In the ſame manner the Iriſh words *oir* and *oirthear*, whence the Latin *oriens* and *ortus*, are the proper words in this language to ſignify the Eaſt or the riſing Sun; and this word *oirthear* alſo ſignifies the beginning or fore part, as *iarthar* alſo means the end or hindmoſt part of any thing,—as in this example, *O oirthear go hiarthar a aoiſe*, from the beginning to the end of his age.

The Iriſh ſtill retain one of the Phœnician names of the cardinal points, viz. *badhb*, which the dictionary writers tranſlate the North, but it is evidently the Chaldean and Phœnician בדר *badh*, i. e. poſterius, implying the Weſt.

Punica Malteſe.	Iriſh.
k-ſcuir, to ſeparate the hull from the grain—chaff, alſo bran.	*caith*, chaff; *ſcaradh*, ſeparation.
laill, the night.	*daille*, the night. (Lhwyd. Nox.)
tugurio, caſa ruſtica, a vile, a wretched hut, a cabin.	*teagh*, a houſe; *uir*, mold, clay.
mirgiarr, or *megiarr*, two places in Malta, ſo called becauſe near the ſea-ſhore.	*teagh-uire*, a houſe of clay. *muir-gearr*, cloſe to the ſea.
mieta, a certain tax on any vendible commodity. The word is totally Punic, and has been uſed time immemorial by the Punic people of Sicily, Malta and Gozo.	*meaſta*, taxed; it is uſed in that ſenſe in all the old Iriſh law books, and in the new teſtament, Luke, ch. ii. v. 1. *an domhan vile do mheas.*

mar-

(*b*) Pſalm. lv. 20. (*c*) Num. xxiii. Iſa. xi.

Punica Malteſe.	Iriſh.
mar-amma, a country edifice.	*múr-amagh*, a building or dwelling in the plains or country.
ſena & *ſnin* } (parola Fenici) the ſeaſons, a year.	*ſion*, the weather, the ſeaſons.
	ſoinine, the ſeaſons.
ſama, the heavens, (voce Punica).	*ſamh*, the ſun.
ſebm, a portion, a ſhare.	*ſeimh*, a ſmall portion, ſingle.
ſcichh, un uffizio decoroſo, con cui ſi gloriano i litterati, ſigniori, principi e governadori delle Città.	*ſgeith*, choſen, ſelected.
	ſci, *ſcia*, to beautify, to adorn.
ſara, to combat, to fight.	*ſaragha*, conqueſt, victory.
	ſarugha, to overcome, to reſcue.
ſillura, an eel.	*ſiliou*, (Armoricé) eels.
ſahhta, waſted, deſtroyed.	*ſachadh*, to ſack, to deſtroy.
	ſaghaidhthe, deſtroyed.
lembi, a veſſel for working or ſtamping dough with the feet.	*leim*, leaping, jumping, ſtamping; *bi*, *bia*, food.
levi & *luvi*, to bend, or wring.	*lubha*, to bend, or twiſt.
liti, a grand proceſſion.	*lith*, ſolemn pomp; *laith*, a crowd.
loqma, a bit of bread, a morſel.	*loghda*, an allowance.
marbat, (anello, a ring) Voce de Fenici, di cui il Salmaſio, e Boccardo, parlano preſſo il Majo, da cui nacque *marbut* legato. *Erbit*, legare (to bind) *norbtu* ligamo.	*mear*, a finger, and *beart*, an ornament or clothing; as *cois-bheart*, worn on the legs, i. e. ſtockings; *ceann-bheart*, worn on the head, i. e. a hat; theſe compounds are very common in the Iriſh; ſo *mear-bheart*, worn on the finger, i. e. a ring.

Punica Malteſe.	Iriſh.
ma tra, e difficile ritrovare un termine proprio ad eſprimare queſta voce, ma piutteſto per abbellimento di chi è dilletante della propria favella, ne altro ſignifica, ſe non *ſi e*, if ſo, ſay you ſo?	*ma ta*, if ſo; *mar ata*, if ſo. *ma ta raidh*, if ſo ſaid. *maturè*, ſoon, ſpeedily. *ma-trath*, if in due time. *ma-atraidh*, if he ſaid.
medd, magnitude, prolongation.	*meid*, bigneſs, magnitude.
meri, to contradict, to thwart.	*mearaigh*, to miſtake, to err.
meut, death.	*meath*, decay, (death.)
mut, il Majo ſcrive muto, nomine conſecravit mortuum, cum Phœnices mortem & Plutonem vocat.	*mudha*, dying, periſhing. *meathadh*, to die. *mudha*, *mutha*, dying.
ml-alet, a ball of wool.	*mol-olla*, (Munſter dialect) combed wool, made up in a ball.
mnaria, feſtivata di S. Petro e Paolo apoſtoli, il ſuo ſignificato multo differiſce dall ſua etimologia. *Minar* che preſſo i Turchi, ſono quelle torri altiſſime, attacate alle loro Moſchee, illuminate nelle feſte principali del loro falſo propheto Maometta, e *Mnaria* vuol dire *illuminazione*, facendoſi da per tutto in queſto giorno de' Santi Apoſtoli, donde nacque *mnara* la lucerna, che è il *candellire* dell baſſa gente.	*moigheanéar* is a word in the *Bearla fene* or Phœnician dialect of the Iriſh, not yet explained in any dictionary. Dr. O'Brien tranſlates *moigheanéar fear do chonairc an la ſo*; Happy is the man that ſaw this day.—It therefore means feſtivity, happineſs, rejoicing, and anſwers to the Malteſe *mnaria*.
n'aſciar, to cut off, to exclude.	*aſtaradh*, ſeparation. *eiſcidh*, to lop off, to exclude. Exam. *eiſcis agcionna dhiob*, i. e. their heads ſhall be cut off.

och,

Punica Malteſe.	Iriſh.
ech, a nun.	*ogh*, a maid, a virgin.
ba ſchar, good tidings.	*ba-ſcéal*, good tidings.
	ſacarbhuig, a confeſſion.
xaſid, *caſed*, holy, undefiled.	*caſt*, undefiled, chaſte.
q'al, ſpeech.	*agall*, ſpeech.
qala, the breaſt, the boſom.	*gaile*, the ſtomach.
qala, the ſail of a ſhip.	*gál*, a gale of wind.
N. B. This is the Carthaginian name of thoſe ſhips moved by wind only, to diſtinguiſh them from ſhips of war, worked both by wind and oars.	
qarab, an approaching.	*gara*, near, at hand.
	gar-ab, not cloſe.
qatta, a ſtick, club, or ſpear. Voce de Fenice.	*gath*, a ſpear or javelin.
qaber & *cabir*, a grandee, a nobleman.	*cairbre*, the name of ſeveral Iriſh princes; ſo alſo *Charibert*, one of the kings of France. *Cairbre* alſo ſignifies a territory.
q'elp, hounds.	*cu-ealb'a*, a pack of hounds, i. e. hounds in herd, or drove.
q'uqqu, eggs.	*ugh*, an egg; *orca*, eggs.
ra, ſight.	*abhra (avra)*; *romhra*; *radharc*, ſight.
rabba, plenty, encreaſe.	*rabbac*, fruitful, plentiful.
r'as, a headland, a promontory.	*itros*, a headland; *roſs* has the ſame meaning.
riebh, wind.	*ar éabh*, wind. (Lhwyd. Ventus.)
r'aqha, a cavalcade.	This is a compound of the Iriſh *eac*, a horſe, a word ſtill uſed at Conſtantinople; *ar-eic*, upon horſes.
ſabaq, ſtrong, valiant.	*ſab* & *ſabag*, able, ſtrong.
ſaffaq, ſerene.	*ſúvac*, ſerene, calm, mild.
ſfaffaq, obſerving, careful, frugal.	*ſabhallach*, careful, ſparing.

It is evident, that in this catalogue of words given by Agius, as Punic, many are purely Arabic, and ſome are Hebrew. The difference in orthography between theſe Malteſe words and the Iriſh words correſponding thereto is eaſily accounted for; the Malteſe uſe the Arabic character, and the difficulty the author found in tranſcribing them into the Roman letter, has already been ſhown in his own words. The author of this eſſay, has frequently converſed with the various nations of the Mediterranean Sea, particularly with the Africans, and from his own experience can teſtify that every nation of Europe, would differ in the orthography of the ſame word, particularly in the *gutteral* and aſpirated conſonants; the Iriſh would be the moſt ſimilar to the original African dialect. Quintilian obſerves, in his time they were much embarraſſed how to tranſcribe the ancient Latin, having loſt the power of ſeveral letters; and Claudius and Origen ſay the ſame.

Of the DII PUNICI, or CARTHAGINIAN DEITIES.

THE knowledge we have of the Carthaginian manner of worſhip, is derived from the Greek and Roman writers *(d)*, who have affixed the names of their own Gods to thoſe of the Carthaginians. This has rendered their accounts and obſervations on this head more imperfect and leſs valuable.

It

(*d*) Herod. Polyb. Diod. Sic. Liv. Quint. Curt. aliiq. multi.

It is therefore impoſſible to come to an exact knowledge of the Carthaginian Gods, from what is delivered of them by the Greek and Roman authors.

The chief Deity of the Carthaginians was *Baal*, *Beal*, or *Bel*, the Sun, to whom they offered human ſacrifices. The chief Deity of the Heathen Iriſh was *Beal*, the Sun, to whom alſo they offered human ſacrifices. The Iriſh ſwore by the Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Wind: "Omnes, qui inciderint, adjuro per ſacrum *Solis* circulum, in æquales *Lunæ* curſus, reliquorumque *ſiderum* vires et *ſigniferum circulum*, ut in reconditis hæc habeant, nec indoctis aut profanis communicent, ſed præceptoris memores ſint eique honorem retribuant. Dii jam dicti ſanctè jurantibus dent quæ velint; pejerantibus contraria." Aſtrologus autem hic Vettius Valens eſt Antiochenus et in proemio, Lib. 7. ἀνθολογίων inſeruit. Selden. de Dis Syr. *(e)*

The ſacrifice of beaſts was at length ſubſtituted among the Carthaginians, the ſame cuſtom we learn from the ancient Iriſh hiſtorians, prevailed in this country. The month of May is to this day named *Mi Beal teinne*, i. e. the month of Beal's fire; and the firſt day of May is called *la Beal teinne*, i. e. the day of Beal's fire. Theſe fires were lighted on the ſummits of hills, in honour of the Sun; many hills in Ireland ſtill retain the name of *Cnoc-greine*, i. e. the hill of the Sun; and on all theſe are to be ſeen the ruins of druidical altars.

On that day the druids drove all the cattle through the fires, to preſerve them from diſorders the enſuing

(e) Prol. p. 35.

ſuing year; this pagan cuſtom is ſtill obſerved in Munſter and Connaught, where the meaneſt cottager worth a cow and a whiſp of ſtraw practiſes the ſame on the firſt day of May, and with the ſame ſuperſtitious ideas. The third day of May is alſo at this day named *treas la ſamh-ra*, or the third day of the Sun's quarter. On this day each bride married within the year makes up a large ball covered with gold or ſilver tiſſue, (in reſemblance of the Deity) and preſents it to the young unmarried men of the neighbourhood, who having previouſly made a circular garland of hoops, &c. (to repreſent the zodiac) come to the bride's houſe to fetch this repreſentation of that planet. To ſuch a pitch is this ſuperſtitious ceremony carried, I have known in the county of Waterford a *ball* to have coſt a poor peaſant two guineas. The old Iriſh name of the year, is *Bealaine*, now corrupted into *Bliadhain*, i. e. the circle of *Belus*, or of the Sun.

The Carthaginians did not repreſent *Beal*, as they had him before their eyes daily in all his glory; they made their addreſſes immediately to him according to the ancient rite. No idol of *Beal* is ever mentioned by the ancient Iriſh hiſtorians, or was any ever found ſince Chriſtianity was introduced. Had they repreſented their chief Deity by any image, St. Patrick would have taken particular notice of it. *Bal* in the Punic language ſignified power, knowledge; *balc* in Iriſh ſignifies the ſame; and *balg* is a man of erudition.

Baal-ſamhain was another Punic appellative of his Deity; *Beal-ſamhain* in Iriſh ſignifies Beal the planet of the Sun; for *an* is a planet, and *ſamh* is the

the Sun; thus we ſay *lu-an* the Moon, i. e. the ſmall planet; *re-an* a ſtar; and *ſamhra* is Iriſh for ſummer, i. e. the Sun's quarter; ſo alſo *dià-ra* daily, &c. the word *ra* ſignifying a quarter or diviſion of time.

Sam-min, *vel ſamhmin*, *vel ſamhain*, *la ſamhmin vel la ſamhain*, is alſo to this time the name of the firſt day of November or All-hallow-tide, the vigil of which is called *oidche ſhamhna* agreeable to the idiom of the language, and corruptly *ee owna*. On what day this feſtival of the Sun was obſerved is not noticed, but at the change of the heathen to the Chriſtian kalendar was judiciouſly fixed at the eve of All Souls.

Samh, as I have already ſhown, is the Sun, and *Meni* is an appellative of the ſame Deity: "But ye are they that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for *Gad*, and that furniſh the drink-offering unto *Meni (f)*." The Seventy tranſlate this thus, ἑτοιμάζοντες τῷ δαιμονίῳ τράπεζαν, καὶ πληροῦντες τῇ τύχῃ κέρασμα, which paſſage St. Jerom has fully explained to have been miſtaken by the Seventy, and it ſhould have been "Parentes fortunæ (Gad) menſam; et implentes dæmoni (Meni) mixtam potionem;" for as St. Jerom and ſeveral others agree, *gad* ſignifies fortune, or rather good fortune, and in this ſenſe it is uſed in the 30th chap. Geneſis, v. 11. and is further confirmed by Selden in his Diis Syris. Here then is a full confirmation of the Origin of the Iriſh *cad-druidheact* or necromancy, handed down to us by the cuſtom ſtill retained of burning nuts

(f) Iſa. lxv. 11.

nuts and ſhells to tell fortunes on this evening, and of the apples and libations of ale (to Meni) joined to the ceremony of the ſame evening.

Origen in his commentaries on St. John, rebuked the Jews for the worſhip they paid to μενὶ καὶ σελήνῃ, to Meni and to the Moon. *Meni* therefore is manifeſtly the Sun. The word *meni*, which produces the Greek μὴν comes from the Hebrew root מנה *men*, which ſignifies to number; and becauſe the motion of the Sun ſerves to meaſure time, the Syrians added this appellative to *Samh*; and becauſe the Moon ſerves us for the ſame purpoſe, the Greeks called her alſo Μήνη; hence alſo the Ægyptians gave the name *Meni* to their God Orus (which was the Sun); hence alſo the Greek μῆνες, and the Latin menſes, and the Engliſh months, i. e. the ſpace of time meaſured by *Meni* or the Sun; and from the ſame root comes the Æolick μᾶνες, from whence the Latin *manes* which were the Genii, according to Servius. Manes genios dicit, quos cum vita ſortimur *(g)*.

Thoſe paſſages in Jeremiah (*h*), where he complains ſo bitterly againſt the ſuperſtition of the Jews, of making cakes for the queen of Heaven, &c. bear a great affinity with this of Iſaiah.

Camden gives us ſeveral ancient inſcriptions of altars, found in England, dedicated to Belus; no ſuch inſcriptions or idols have ever been found in this iſland; ſeveral mountains retain his name, as *Sliabh Bal-teinne*, i. e. the mountain of Baal's fire; and ſome towns hand down to us the ſcite of his

(*g*) Æneid, v. 743. (*h*) vii. 18. and xliv. 1718, 19.

his temples, as *Bal-ti-more*, i. e. the great houſe of Belus; *Bal-ti-na-glaiſe* (Baltinglaſs), the houſe of Belus's necromancy, &c. &c. Semiram in Belo fanum in arce Babyloniæ condidiſſe his verbis ſcribit Periegetes μέγαν δόμον ἔσατο Βήλῳ, id eſt màgnam domum extruxit Belo. Selden, pag. 164.

But the pagan cuſtoms of the common people ſtill retained in the country, are the moſt valuable monuments of antiquity.

Now as the ancients at this feſtival did eat the ſacrifices of the dead, to uſe the pſalmiſt's words, where could the primitive Chriſtians have fixed this day ſo properly as on the eve of All Souls?

Ut mittam nunc Irlandos ſeu incolas Hiberniæ, qui, referente auctore de ſtatibus imperiorum de Hybernia, p. 44, ſe mettent à genoux en voyant la Lune nouvelle et diſent en parlant à Lune, *gò faga tu me mur tu fuaras me*—laiſſe nous auſi ſains que tu nous as trouve—ita nos ſalvos degere ſinas, ſicuti nos inveniſti, &c. Vid. de l'Eſtat du Roy d'Eſpagne, p. 236, ubi dicitur, quod, pluſieurs adoront le Soleil et la Lune, recognoiſſans toute fois un ſeùl Dieu, Createur de toutes choſe, &c. (*i*)

This cuſtom is ſtill preſerved, and every peaſant in Ireland on ſeeing the new Moon croſſes himſelf and ſays, *ſlan fuar tu ſin agus ſlan adfaga tu ſin*, whole you find us and whole leave us.

Moſt of the ancient places of druidical worſhip in Ireland retain the name of the God Baal, and *Magh-adhair* or the field of worſhip; as *Glan-magh-adhair*, now

(*i*) And. Beveri ad J. Selden. de Dis Syris ſyntagmata, addit. prol. ad cap. 3. p. 80.

now *Glan-mire*, four miles north of Cork, and near the ſame place is *Beal-atha-magh-adhair*, i. e. the plain of Baal's field of worſhip, where the druidical altar yet remains. See O'Brien's dictionary at the word *magh*. Several places alſo retain the name of the Moon, or places allocated to the particular worſhip of that planet; as *Atha-luan*, Athlone; *Lough-Re*, a part of the river Shannon not far diſtant, and a town of the ſame name at the ſide of a lough in the county of Galway.

Grian, *Grian*, the name of the Sun in Iriſh, was latiniſed into *Grynæus*, which was a claſſical epithet of Apollo; and in Camden we meet with an inſcription APOLLINI GRANNO. It is true this had been ſet up by a Roman, but this might have been done in compliment to the tutelar deity of the nation he governed. This epithet of Grynæus for Apollo we find in Virgil (*k*):

His tibi Grynæi nemoris dicatur origo
Ne quis ſit lucus, quâ ſe plus jactet Apollo.

Again (*l*):

Sed nunc Italiam magnam Grynæus Apollo
Italiam Lyciæ juſſere capeſſere ſortes:
Hic amor, hæc patria eſt.

Grynium, ſays Strabo, was a town in Æolia, where was a temple of Apollo and an Oracle. And the Greeks being ignorant of the Celtic derivation of Grynæus, have formed according to their cuſtom, a fabulous hiſtory for Grynæus, that he was the Sun, Eupophorinus, &c.

Veteri

(*k*) Ecl. 6. (*l*) Æn. 4. l. 345.

Veteri ſanè inſcripto ſaxo et apud Conſeranos in Novempopulonia reperto ita legitur

MINERVÆ
BELISAMÆ
C. VALERIUS
MONUM.

Haut cuiquam conſtaret opinor, quid aliud Beliſama hic denotet. Minervæ autem, Junonis, Veneris, Lunæ nomina ſunt ita, cum ad Aſiaticos Deos reſpexeris, confuſa, ut qui Minervam Beliſamam, Junonem Beliſamam, Venerem aut Lunam dixerit, idem ſemper ipſum dixerit. An Littori Britanniæ occidentalioris (Lancaſtrenſem agrum dico) æſtuarium illud Βιλισαμα Ptolemæo dictum, ab hanc Dea apud vicinos culta, ſic fuerit nuncupatum, cogitent quorum intereſt.

Apollo was the principal God of the pagan Iriſh, and from the harp's being ſacred to him we may diſcern the reaſon why that inſtrument is the enſign armorial of Ireland.

Diodorus Siculus gives an account of a northern iſland, about the bigneſs of Sicily, ſituated over againſt the Celtæ, as being fruitful and pleaſant and dedicated to Apollo, to whom round temples and large groves were ſacred, wherein the prieſts chaunted to their harps the praiſes of their God. Every particular of this is very applicable to Ireland.

The laſt Sunday of the ſummer quarter is called by the Iriſh *domhna crom*, and is obſerved with ſeveral druidical ſuperſtitions to this day. Some have thought *crom* was a pagan deity, but we ſhall prove that it was another day conſecrated to particular worſhip,

worſhip, and to the puniſhment of the guilty, by the ſentence and execution of the druids. *Crom*, in the modern Iriſh, implies bending or bowing the body; ꝺo cꞃom ꞅioꞅ ꝺon ioꝺal, he bowed down to the idol. *Chrom*, in the Bohemian language, ſignifies a temple, church, or place of worſhip. *Crom-liag* or *crom-leac*, is the name given by all Celtic nations to the druidical altars, yet remaining in many places in Ireland, Scotland, and England; we alſo find *cromthear* the old Iriſh name for a prieſt, perhaps particularly from his office on this day; the root of this word in all the eaſtern dialects implies worſhip. In Arabic כרם reverere, honorare. So in Matthew xv. v. 4, it is the word uſed to denote reverence and honour to your parents. With the Talmudiſts it implies a ſynagogue, gymnaſium, ſchola; ſee Schindler. כרמלית *cremlith*, in the Chaldaic, implies a public place of worſhip, the ſanctum ſanctorum, which the common people were not to approach. Locus communis et publicus ſed inacceſſus, qui publicè tranſiri, vel non ſolet, vel non poteſt. Buxtorf. And this I take to be the origin of the Iriſh *crom-liag* and *crom-leac*, from לוח *luch*, a table of ſtone; חרם לוח *cherem luch*, a conſecrated ſtone; hence *lac* and *laac* in old Saxon is a ſacrifice. But חרם *cherem*, in the Hebrew, Chaldaic and Arabic, ſignifies anathemati ſubjicere, Deo dicare, morti adducere, excommunicare; and this day I fancy is in remembrance of the annual excommunication and puniſhment of the people, by the druids, from whence many have conjectured they offered human ſacrifices. In old manuſcripts we find frequent mention of the *crom-crua*, or bloody

crom,

crom, (from *cru*, blood) ſo called from the puniſhment inflicted on this day. This was alſo practiſed by the antient Jews, as we learn from Relandus, p. 117. (but query, at what ſeaſon of the year?) "decernebat hoc Synedrium de rebus majoris momenti tam politicis quam ſacris, privatis quam publicis, et pænas capitales reis irrogatas, hæ autem quatuor fuere apud Judæos, lapidatio, combuſtio, decollatio et ſtrangulatio, et excommunicatio, cujus ſpecies levior גדוי etiam שמתא dicta fuit, gravior חרם cherem.

The pagan Iriſh were ſtrangers to any other idolatrous worſhip, than what their anceſtors brought from the Aſſyrians, namely, that of the Sun, Moon and Stars; all were included in the general name of *rimmon* or *rimmon*, which to this day is the appellation of the ſtarry conſtellations; and this word explains that paſſage in the ſecond book of Kings, v. 18. "In this thing the Lord pardon thy ſervant, that when my maſter goeth into the houſe of *Rimmon* to worſhip there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I *bow* myſelf in the houſe of *Rimmon*." &c. This *Rimmon* was certainly a Syrian idol ſay ſome, but Mr. Hutchinſon very properly conjectures that it collectively expreſſes the fixt Stars; but all others before him have been much at a loſs, as the word in Hebrew רמון *Rimmon* ſignifies a pomegranate, both fruit and tree; which name I conjecture was given that fruit from the beautiful ſtar formed on the top, like the apex of an apple. The *Cam-ceacta* or Northern bear ſeems to have been the peculiar worſhip of the pagan Iriſh; when the Fomorii or Phœnicians landed in Ireland

they ſacrificed to the Stars which had guided them; theſe could be no other than thoſe of the North pole, viz. cam-cęcta; hence the word ꝼoćla ſignifies both an offering and the North; and it appears as if the word cęaćta was alſo derived from the Hebrew חשאה *chataa*, ſacrificium; ſee Ezra, xlv. 23. to which was added cam, to bow, bend or adore. Although I have applied this to the North pole, it is certain an orientaliſt would apply the Hebrew חשאה חמה *Chama Chataa* to ſignify literally the ſacrifice of the Sun, for, as I noticed, in the preceding page *Chama* is Sol. This is again fully explained by St. Stephen in his argument with the Jews, (as mentioned by St. Luke) to be the God *Rimmon*, as I have already deſcribed. See Acts of the Apoſtles, vii. 43. "Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of "Moloch, and the Star of your God *Remphan*, "figures which ye made to worſhip them." This is evidently no more than the tabernacle of the Sun and Planets; for molc or *moloc* in Iriſh ſignifies fire, which they worſhipped as a type of the Sun, and *Remphan* or *Remman* ſignified the inferior planets. Again, this *Remphan* is called *Kiun* by Amos, v. 26. "You have borne the tabernacle of your "God *Moloch* and *Kiun*, your images, and the "ſtar of your Gods whom ye have made." Now *Rimmon* was the Syrian name, and *Remphan* and *Kiun* the name given to the ſame deity by the Moabites. This paſſage has put the interpreters on the rack, becauſe of the difference between the Hebrew text and that of the Septuagint. St. Jerom explains this to be Lucifer or Saturn only. [Selden, Grotius and Thomaſſin.] Now *Kiun*, or as the Perſians

Perſians name it, *Kaivan*, is the name of the planet Saturn, becauſe he has many ſatellites to light him, and his belt alſo is compoſed of many more; now *Kaivan* is the ſame as the Iberno-Celtic caibdan or *caivan*, ſignifying a throng or cluſter, and is this day uſed for a rout or throng of people, and therefore applicable to the Deity they worſhipped under the name of *Rimmon*, *Rinnim*, *Rempham* and *Kuin*, that is, the heavenly hoſt together; all which returns again to *Baal*, *Belus*, and *Rimmin*.

The Iriſh druids cauſed all fires to be extinguiſhed throughout the kingdom on the eve of May day, and every houſe was obliged to light his fire from the arch-druid's holy fire, kindled on ſome elevated place, for which they paid a tribute to the druid. This exactly correſponds with Dr. Hyde's deſcription of the Parſi or Guebri, deſcendants of the ancient Perſians, who have, ſays he, an annual fire in the temple, from whence they kindle all the fires in their houſes, which are previouſly extinguiſhed, which makes a part of the revenues of their prieſts; and this was undoubtedly the uſe of the round towers, ſo frequently to be met with in Ireland, and which were certainly of Phœnician conſtruction.

I will here hazard a conjecture. I find גדול *gadul* to ſignify *magnus*; I find alſo that the oriental nations at length ſo named the tower of Babylon, &c. מגדלות *magudaluth*, turres ab amplitudine dictæ. Bochart. p. 42. Geog. Sacr. *Gad*, i. e. *gadul*, turris; may not our Iriſh name *cloghad* for the round towers built in Ireland, which apparently were of Phœnician workmanſhip, be derived from this word

gad, and *clogh* a ſtone. It muſt be allowed that *clug* is a bell, and hence theſe towers have been thought to have been belfries; but we have many places called *clogh*, i. e. ſaxum.

Again, the druids called every place of worſhip *cloghad*, alluding to the circles of ſtones they uſually ſet up in thoſe places; there is therefore no poſitive authority to ſay theſe *cloghads* or towers were uſed as belfries only, or that they took their name from that uſe.

There are many reaſons which induce me to believe, that the druids of the Britiſh iſlands maintained their religion in its purity, much longer than thoſe upon the continent. They all of them had retained ſo much of the original doctrine, as inclined them to diſtinguiſh their errors, and enabled them to ſee the great conformity there was between their ancient tenets and the precepts of the goſpel, which they univerſally entertained. They believed the Deity to be infinite and omnipreſent, and thought it ridiculous to imagine, that he whom the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain, ſhould be circumſcribed within the narrow limits of a roof; and for the perpetual eſtabliſhment and ſupport of the ſeventh day, they were wont to dedicate the tenth of all their ſubſtance (*m*).

Again. The chiefs of their reſpective families were their prieſts and princes, yet all acknowledged one ſuperior in the ſacred office. Hence in the Phœnician and Hebrew כהן *koken* is a prieſt, and in Iriſh *conac* is a lord, *ac* being an adjunct termination

(*m*) Cooke on the Patriar. and Druidic relig. p. 64.

tion in the Celtic, *con-ac* lordly, by the Iriſh poets written *codhn-ac*.

Cælum, *Col* was the moſt antient of the Gods, and had for one of his children *Time* named Saturn. It is no hard thing to gueſs why *Cælum* is ſaid to be the firſt of the Gods, and the father of Saturn or Chronus, ſince it is evident that the motions of the Heavens make and meaſure the duration of time; כל *cal*, all, perfect; כליל an holacauſt, a ſacrifice.

Chronus, according to ſome, was another name of *Beal*; but we will ſhow hereafter that *Chronus* was an appellative of Saturn. *Chron* ſignifies in Iriſh time, and *Chronóg* a circle, i. e. the orbit of the Sun.

" Here, ſay the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, we have three *Baals*, who are ſaid to have been once mortal men; which might fairly induce one to think, that the learned are miſtaken in ſuppoſing the Phœnician God *Baal* in general to be the Sun." It is evident from the foregoing explanation, that they were only different appellatives ſignificant of the ſame God, the Sun.

Baal, *Bal*, *Beel*, *Bel*. " San Hieronymo junta dellos mucho, i de ſu origen, i aviendo del Rei *Belo*, i ſu hiſtoria proſigue. Quam Belus, primus Rex Aſſyriorum, ut ſupra diximus: Quos conſtat Saturnum, quem et Solem dicunt, Junonemque coluiſſe: quæ numina etiam apud Afros poſtea culta ſunt. Unde et lingua Punica Bal, deus dicitur. Apud Aſſyrios autem Bel dicitur quadam ſacrorum ratione et Saturnus et Sol."

The

The chief if not the only deities of the heathen Iriſh were Grian, Col, and Ceacht, which ſignifies the Sun, Moon and Stars; though it appears that they worſhipped the Wind alſo; for to ſwear by the Wind was a common oath. Grian is to this day Iriſh for the Sun, and cam ceachta for the Bear or Seven Stars which roll about the Pole; this word is Phœnician and is derived from כימה *cimah* (Pleiades the Seven Stars) and כוכב *cocabh* (Stella alſo Mercurius) plur. *cocauth*, alſo חמה *Cham*, Sol, the Sun. Scindler, p. 827.

To thoſe who do not trace the origin of the antient Celtes and their language from the Orientals, it is matter of wonder how the worſhip of *Baal* ſhould be known to the Iberno-Celts or Iriſh. The name of *Beal* or *Baal* which ſignifies dominus or dominator, was firſt the name of the true God; and after the Aſſyrians, Chaldæans and Phœnicians had conveyed this ſacred name to the Sun, whom they adored as their chief deity, the Lord commanded the people of Iſrael to call him no more *Baal*; as in Hoſea, ch. ii. v. 16. "And it ſhall be "in that day, that thou ſhalt call me Iſhi, and "ſhalt call me no more *Baali*." So alſo they called the Moon אשרה *aſchera*, i. e. regina Cœli; "et ut Sol reſpectu Lunæ Baal dicitur, quod reſpectu Lunæ ſit inſtar domini, qui de ſuo decore et ſplendore uxori ſuæ communicat; ſic etiam Luna vocatur Aſchera, quod nomen eſt fæminini generis quaſi illa ſit fæmina Solis, quia illius deſiderio tenetur. Hibernicè *Eaſca*, vel *Eaſga* et *Rè*." *Bal mhaith ort* and *Bal dhia dhuit*, the good Bal and the God Bal

to

to you, are to this day common ſalutations in Munſter, and particularly about Waterford.

Hercules was the protector of Tyre and Carthage; Africus and Euſebius prove his Carthaginian name was *Archles*, i. e. ſay they, ſtrong, robuſt. Bochart (*n*) derives his name from the Hebrew word *ercol* ſinewy. *Aichill* in Iriſh ſignifies ſtrong, robuſt; and hence *Achilles*. Thus alſo with us *aicillidhe* means an active, dextrous man. May we not conjecture that our great weſtern promontory Aċuill, Aichil, and the iſlands of Aichil, were the *Herculis promontorium* of the Phœnicians. Pliny (*o*) calls Hercules *Midacritus*, but his Phœnician name was *Archles*; he was indeed named *Mil-car-thus* at Carthage, as being the peculiar Deity and protector of that city (*p*.) He was a great navigator, and the firſt that brought lead from the Caſſiterides or Britiſh iſlands; he was called *Melec-cartha*, i. e. king of the city, ſays Bochart: *Mil-cathair* in Iriſh, is the champion of the city. Pliny (*q*) calls him corruptly *Midacritus*. Sir Iſaac Newton rejects this notion, and derives his name from his having been the founder of Carteia in Spain; but Heſychius ſays, the Amathuſians called Hercules by the name of *Malic*.

Next to *Hercules* was *Jol-aus*. Voſſius and Pauſanias deſcribe the ceremonies paid to this Deity. The Carthaginians ſuppoſed him nearly related to *Hercules*; that he helped to deſtroy the Hydra, and that he was called *Jol-aus*, becauſe when he had lived to a very great age, he was changed into a youth.

(*n*) Phaleg. (*o*) Plin. l. 7. cap. 56.
(*p*) Univ. Hiſt. 8vo. vol. 2. p. 338. (*q*) L. 71. cap. 56.

youth. *Jol* in Iriſh is to change, and *aos* is age, the compound makes *Jol-aos*.

Aeſculapius or *Aiſculapius* was the God of phyſical knowledge; his temple was built on a high rock, where all his healing miracles were performed, and from thence he took his name. *Aiſci* in Iriſh is to heal, and *ſcealp* is a rock. Servius calls him alſo *Poeni-gena*, becauſe, ſays he, born of a Carthaginian woman; *Poeni-geine*, in Iriſh, is the offſpring of a Carthaginian.

Syria or *Deæ Syriæ* were Gods not deſcribed by any author with certainty; probably they were the ſea-nymphs, for *ſuire* is Iriſh for ſea-nymphs. Keating in his antient hiſtory of Ireland, deſcribes the *ſuire* playing round the ſhips of the Mileſians in their paſſage to Ireland.

Ceres or *Keres* was worſhipped as the Moon. *Ceo* in Iriſh ſignifies clouds, vapours; and *Re* is the Moon, which compounded forms *Ceore*. She was alſo named *Ceoleſtis* and *Keolectis*, and was invoked in droughts in order to obtain rain: "ipſa virgo Ceoleſtis pluviarum pollicitatrix." Tertullian. (r) *Ceo-leis-teiſi*, in Iriſh, ſignifies dropping, miſts, or rain. Mr. Rollin thinks this Deity was the ſame Queen of Heaven, to whom the Jewiſh women burnt incenſe, poured out drink-offerings, and made cakes for her with their own hands,—ut faciant placentas reginæ Cœli. The children gathered the wood, the fathers kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough, to make cakes for the Queen of Heaven. Jeremiah, vii. 18. This pagan cuſtom is ſtill preſerved in Ireland on the eve of St. Bridget, and

(r) Apol. c. 23.

and which was probably tranſpoſed to St. Bridget's eve, from the feſtival of a famed poeteſs of the ſame name, in the time of paganiſm. In an antient gloſſary now before me, ſhe is thus deſcribed: *Brighid ban fhileadh inghean an Dagha*; *bean dhe Eirinn*; i. e. Brigit a poeteſs, the daughter of Dagha; a goddeſs of Ireland. On St. Bridget's eve every farmer's wife in Ireland makes a cake called *bairin-breac*, the neighbours are invited, the madder of ale and the pipe go round, and the evening concludes with mirth and feſtivity.

Tellus, the earth, was alſo worſhipped by the Carthaginians. *Tellur*, *tella*, *telamh* is Iriſh for earth.

Uranus was their God over land and water. *Uir* in Iriſh is land, and *an* water. "Uiran, Uraniæ meminet (Diodorus) tanquam urbes Carpaſiæ vicinæ, cujus fabulæ veſtigia alibi non reperi." Bochart (*s*).

They worſhipped the Moon under the name of *Aſhtóreth*, and the women gave up their bodies to the men in her temples for hire; *aiſtéoreacht* in Iriſh is leachery, lewd, laſcivious pranks. Aſhtóreth or Aſtarte, ſays Bochart, "eadem quæ Io mutata in bovem, et mater Phœnicium; tamen Aſhtoreth vulgo pro Venere ſumitur. עשתרת *aſtarach*, ardere libidine, Rom. i. 17. 1 Pet. iv. 4. Παφίης νυμφήιον ὑδωρ Σέρραχος ἱμερόεις. Veneris ſponſalis aqua ſeſtrachus amabilis, pro Σερραχος legerim Ερραχος. Vid. Bochart (*t*).

At Byblos *Aſhtoreth* was worſhipped in a temple as the *Venus* of *Adonis*, and there ſuch women as would

(*s*) Pag. 371. 4to. (*t*) P. 370.

would not conform to the ſhaving their heads, at the annual time of lamenting *Adonis*, were bound to proſtitute their bodies one intire day for hire, and the money thus earned was preſented to the Goddeſs. *Adonis*, *Oſſiris*, and *Adonoſiris* or *Thamutz*, all center in one object, and *Iſis* had a temple at Byblos where they worſhipped the heath which concealed *Oſſiris*'s coffin: this Byblian *Iſis*, ſay the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, muſt have been *Aſtarte* or *Aſhtoreth*. "Indé, ſays Selden (*u*), Alagabalus (quem Heliogabalum etiam depravati veteres efferebant, nos Alagabalum magis dicendum fuiſſe in capite de Belo adſtruimus) nimirum *Sol* ipſe *Pyramidis* ſpecie colebatur Syris; Venus *pilæ* ſeu *quadrati ſaxi* Arabibus, uti etiam Paphius alibique, et ſeptem columnæ erectæ ſunt ritu priſco apud Laconas teſte Pauſania (*erantium ſtellarum ſigna*).—Prophetæ ejus "a mane uſque ad meridiem invocaverunt nomen Baal, dicentes, O Baal exaudi nos." Moſ. Ægyp. More. Neboch. l. 1. c. 58. (*w*) So we end as we begun with *Baalim* and *Aſtoreth*.

"Illos tummodo Syros jam vocamus Deos—cujus modi agnoſcas licet *Belum* ſeu *Baalim*, *Aſtarten* ſive *Aſhtaroth*, *Dagon*, *Dammutz*, &c." (*x*)

"And the children of Iſrael did evil in the ſight "of the Lord, and ſerved *Baalim* and *Aſhtaroth*, "and the Gods of Syria, and the Gods of Zidon," &c. Judg. x. 6.

Saturn was the God of bread-corn, becauſe he taught men to till the earth: He is often repreſented on Punic medals by an ear of wheat: He was alſo called

(*u*) Prolog. p. 52. (*w*) Id. p. 56.
(*x*) Selden de Dis Syris. Prolegom. cap. 2.

called *Chronus*; though ſome, as we have before obſerved, think *Chronus* and *Baal* were the ſame. *Sat*, in Iriſh, is abundance, and *aran* is bread; which compounded makes *Satharan*.

The God *Neptune*, ſay the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, was the Punic *Scyphus*, from *ſcyph* a rock: I think theſe learned authors miſtaken, for we have already proved *ſcealp* was Punicè a rock; *ſcif* or *ſcib* is Iriſh for a ſhip, and *Neptune* was the God of the ſea; but the name *Neptune* is plainly derived from the Iriſh *Nimh* a Deity, and *ton* the waves of the ſea.

Mercury is repreſented as a ſwift meſſenger of the Gods, and being an humble ſervant of theirs, ſays Bochart *(y)*, was called by the Carthaginians *Aſſumes*. *Aſſumhal*, in Iriſh, is very humble, moſt humble, but the Æolic name *Mercury* is derived from three Iriſh words, viz. *Mer* active, *cu* a grey-hound, and *ri* running. May not this be the reaſon that he was ſometimes repreſented with a Dog's head? Rowland (z) ſays he was ſo called from *marc* a horſe, and *ri* running.

They had a certain God of antiquity named *P'atas*, called by the Greeks *Patæci* and *Patakoi*, the etymon of which words have confuſed many of the learned.

Some, from the ignorance of the Grecian authors, have thought it was an ape, from the affinity of the Greek word *pithekos* an ape. Monſieur Morin, agrees with Scaliger, and both think it ſhould be read *Fatas*; the letter *P* with an hiatus being

(y) Phaleg. (z) Mon. Ant.

being equal to *F*; they therefore aſcribe this divinity to *Vulcan*, the ſupreme Deity of the Egyptians, remarkable for his ſkill and knowledge. *Fathas* in Iriſh ſignifies ſkill, knowledge, and alſo divine poetry. But M. Bullet very juſtly derives *Patakoi* from the Celtic *pat*, vel *vat*, vel *bad*, a boat, a ſkiff; to which may be added that *oichi* ſignifies champions; and thence *Bad-oichi* or *Patakoi* may ſignify main champions or ſkilful mariners.

Heſychius and Suidas will have theſe *Patæci* to have been placed in the poops of the ſhips; and Herodotus compares them to pygmies: if they were the tutelar Gods of ſeafaring men, and carried about for protection from diſaſters at ſea, the cuſtom ſeems to be ſtill preſerved by the Spaniards, who at this day carry to ſea with them little images of their ſaints, that they may ſtand their friends in diſtreſs; theſe are Chriſtian Patæci: why ſhould we wonder at the Carthaginians or Phœnicians?

They ſuſpended certain ſtones to their necks called *bætyli*, as preſervatives of the body againſt danger. *Bith* Iriſh for life, *uile* all, whole, compleat; *bithuile*: "theſe ſtones, ſays Bochart (*a*), "were alſo called *abdir*, probably from *abaud* or "*ebendus*, Hebrew words for a round ſtone;" *ab* a prieſt in Iriſh and *dior* the law; ſo that I ſhould tranſlate it a ſomething worn by the law of the prieſts, (if Bochart be right.) *Dórn* means in Iriſh a round ſtone, and *abdórn* would mean, the round ſtone of the prieſts.

The biſhop of Cork, in his letter (*b*) to the Royal Society in London, has ſtrangely confuſed the

(*a*) Phaleg. (*b*) Phil. Tr. No. 471.

the *Baitulia* with the *Beth-al*, in his deſcription of the druidical monuments in Ireland. We have already ſhown that *Beith-al*, both in Hebrew and Iriſh ſignifies the Houſe of God; the biſhop therefore thinks it was one of theſe monſtrous unhewn ſtones forming the druidical temples, which Rhea gave to Saturn to ſwallow inſtead of a child, becauſe it was called by the Greeks *baitulos*. Heſychius is alſo as much miſtaken in the etymon of the *bætyli*, which he ſays was covered with a woollen garment; from the Greek word *baite*.

But St. Auſtin ſays, the Carthaginian Deities in general were called *abdire*; and the prieſts who aſſiſted at their ſacrifices *euc-adire*: now *ab* in Iriſh expreſſes a Deity alſo, and *adhra* is to worſhip: thus *abadhra* the worſhip of the Deity; ſo *eugadh* is to die in Iriſh, and *eugadhra* means to die in the ſacrifice, or worſhip.

Titan, ſays Pezron, was the Æolic name of the Sun, and ſignifies fire and water; it is true, *tith* or *teth* is heat in Iriſh, and *an* is water, but we have already explained, that *an* in the Iriſh and Punic ſignifies a planet, ſo *Tithan* or *Tethan* is the planet of heat; thus alſo *greadh* is to ſcorch, and *greadhan* or *gri-an* is the Iriſh common appellative for the Sun, i. e. the ſcorching Planet.

The fire of the ſtars ſeems to have been honoured in the perſon of Jupiter, called in Greek Ζευς and in Phœnician חם *Cham*, both names being derived from heat and fire (*c*).

Ioh-

(*c*) Danet's dict. of antiq. ad verb. ignis.

Ioh-pater Jupiter, was eſteemed the father of all fruits; *ioh* is Iriſh for the fruit of beaſt, plant, or tree, and *p*, *athair*, i. e. *priomh athair*, firſt, or chief father. The Etruſcan name of Jupiter was ɑƎ+RꟼVI, (IUP'TER) i. e. *iu-primus atar*; and thus *primus atar* was contracted to *p. atar*, all from the Phœnician *priomh athair*, firſt father; hence the Greek *pater*, and *pateros*; Lat. *pater*; Biſc. *aita*; Gothic *atta*; Theſſal. *atta*; Perſic, *padder*, &c.

It is plain (ſays Adrian Reland de nomine Jehovah, Utrecht 1707) that the Latins formed the name of their God Jupiter, whom they called Jovis, from the name Jehovah or Jehovih.

It however is very uncertain, whether or no the Latins borrowed their Jovis of the Hebrew; ſince Varro derives it from the Latin verb *juvare*, to aid or aſſiſt (*d*).

The pagan Iriſh never admitted the modern Deities of the Greeks or Romans into their worſhip; even to the days of St. Patrick their worſhip was pure Aſſyrian, and conſiſted of the heavenly hoſt alone, as I have deſcribed elſewhere.

Curetes were the keepers of Jupiter, remarkable for valour, as well as for ſkill in aſtronomy: *curaithe* in Iriſh is champions. Thus *Æolus* the God of the winds was ſo called from his knowledge in aſtronomy and the winds; in Iriſh *gaoith* is the wind, and *eolas* is knowledge, hence *gaoth-eolas* into *aeolus*. "Memoriæ tradidit Iſacius, Æolum hominem fuiſſe aſtronomiæ peritiſſimum, et illam ſcientiam præcipue exercuiſſe quæ pertinet ad naturam ventorum, ut prodeſſet navigantibus.

(*d*) Supp. du journ. des Scavans. Juin 1709. tom. 44.

navigantibus. Prædicebat igitur . . . . . et quæ mari futura eſſet tempeſtas (*e*). Bochart thinks the derivation of this name is from the Hebrew עול *aol*, vel *gaaol*, tempeſtas. Indeed the Celti never had theſe Greek and Roman Deities, for they were deified from the Celtic fables by the Greeks; I mean moſt of them, for as we learn from the Stoic Cornutus or Phurnutus they borrowed from various nations, Τα δε πολλας και ποικιλας περι θεων γεγονεναι παρα τοις παλιοις Ἑλλησι μαθοποϊας, ὡς αλλαι μεν επι Μαγοις γεγονασιν, αλλαι δε παρ' Αιγυπτιοις και Κελτοις, και Λιβυσι, και Φρυξι, και τοις αλλοις εθνησι, cap. 17. i. e. among the many and various fables which the ancient Greeks had about the Gods, ſome were derived from Mages, ſome from Ægyptians, ſome from the Celti or Gauls, and others from the Africans and Phrygians, &c. Will not this ſtop the laughter of the claſſic gentry, at my deriving the names of Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, &c. from the Celtic, whoſe virtues and powers are not to be explained in the compoſition of their names in any other language.

Venus is derived from *bean* or *bhean*, pronounced *van*, or *vean* a woman. But to return to the Carthaginians.

Phiditia or *fidites* were public feaſts at Carthage, where the elders inſtructed their youths. Iriſh *fidir*, *fithir*, and *feathair*, a teacher or doctor, and *fiadhaithe*, relating, telling, inſtructing, as *fiadhaid a bhás*, they relate his death.

Bad or *badhb*, the wind, and ſome think particularly the North wind; it is alſo ſaid to be a *bean-ſighe*,

(*e*) Natal. Com. mitolog. l. 8. cap. 10.

ſighe, or familiar ſpirit, which is ſuppoſed to belong to particular families: this word appears to be of Aſiatic root, for in the preſent Perſic language *bad* is not only wind, but alſo the name of the genius or deity, who, like the Æolus of the Greeks, preſides over winds; he has the ſuperintendance of the 22d day of the month, which is conſecrated to this ſpirit and called by his name *(f)*.

The ſupreme magiſtrates of Carthage were called *ſoffites (g)*, becauſe men in great power; *ſofar* in Iriſh is powerful, ſtrong, valiant, plural *ſofaraith*. They are called *ſoffites*, ſays Selden *(h)*, from the Hebrew *ſouffitem*, judices ſonat. *So* in compound Iriſh words ſignifies an aptneſs, or facility in doing, alſo excellency; thus *ſo-fither* means moſt capable of teaching, or governing, and is moſt applicable to the ſupreme magiſtrate.

Barach. "S. Hieronymo en la vida de S. Haliarion dize, que los Saracenos ſalian a encontrar a el ſancto con ſus mugeres i hijos, et ſubmittentes colla et voce Syra Barach inclamantes; id eſt Benedict. Barach i Benedic, eadem eſt Hebræis ſignificatio, a quorum lingua non ſolum Syram ſed Chaldæam quoque, Arabicum, et Æthiopicam demonſtramus *(i)*." In Iriſh *bar* a learned man, *barrachas* ſupreme excellency, great ſway, and *barraighhin* is a mitre.

The name of Carthage was *Carthago* from its ſituation by the ſea-ſide, ſays C. Duret; *cathair* is Iriſh

(f) See Richardſon's Perſic. Lex. p. 318.
(g) Liv.
(h) De Dis Syr. c. 1.
(i) Ant. de Eſpan. Africa. Aldrete, lib. 2. p. 187.

Iriſh for a city, and *go* is the ſea. According to Bochart and Voſſius it was called *Cathardo* and *Cathardreannac*, meaning the new city.—*Cathardo* and *Cathardreannad* in Iriſh ſignifies the good city, for *do* or *da* and *dreannad*, means good.

Howel explains this name much better, he ſays Carthage was built at three ſeveral times; the firſt foundation conſiſted of *cothon*, i. e. the port or harbour; in Iriſh, *cuan* is an harbour or port, and *cothadh-an* is a noble ſupport. *Megara* was a part of the town built next, and in reſpect to *cothon* was called *Kartha adath*, *agath*, or *hadtha*, that is, ſays he, the new buildings, or the additional town; in Iriſh, *agadth*, or *adath*, is an addition, and thus *cathair-adath* ſignifies the new added city.

The antient name of Carthage, as given by Dido, was *Boſra*, or as ſome have it *Byrſa*; *Boſra* they ſay means a royal fort. *Borrſa* in Iriſh is noble, royal, magnificent, and *rath* (pronounced *rá*) is a fort; thus *Borrſa-rath*, is a royal fortreſs. *Byrſa*, according to ſome, ſignifies plenty of water; *bior* in Iriſh is a ſpring or fountain, (hence *tobair* a well, alſo *Birr* the name of many towns abounding with ſprings) and *ſa* is an augmentative article, ſo *biorſa* implies plenty of water.

The names of the Carthaginians, ſays Bochart, had commonly ſome particular meaning, thus *Anno* ſignified gracious, bountiful: the proper name *Enno* frequently occurs in the Iriſh hiſtory, but *Ana* in Iriſh ſignifies plenty of riches, a cornu-copia; and adds, the ſame author, *Dido* means amiable, well-beloved; and *Sophoniſba*, one who keeps her huſband's ſecrets faithfully: in Iriſh *didil* is exceſſive

love, *dide* gratitude, and *dildo* moſt amiable, *Sofonn-eaſba* alſo ſignifies, much addicted to vanity.

Adrian Reland, in his miſcellanies, thinks the *Cabires* may be derived from the Hebrew חבר *chabar*, *chabirim*, to unite or conjoin, as much as to ſay the united deities. Here again is a proof of the affinity of the Iriſh language to the Hebrew, for *cabraim* is to conjoin or unite together, *cabar* a junction. He inſiſts that *cabir*, as well as the root *cabar*, is always uſed to expreſs the quantity or multitude, and never to expreſs the greatneſs or grandeur; he owns that in the Arabic it does mean grand, great, but denies the word having any ſuch meaning in the Hebrew, and leaves it to others whether it may not alſo be derived from the Hebrew *kebirim*, buried, deceaſed, &c.

The Carthaginians had certain undiſtinguiſhed Deities called *Cabiri*, a kind of Penates or houſhold Gods, who were ſuppoſed to preſide over every action of their lives, and whom they occaſionally invoked for their help. *Cabair* in Iriſh ſignifies help, aſſiſtance, and *cabra* is a target or ſhield. Yet Selden (*k*) ſeems to think *Cabiri* ſignified Venus: "Saracenorum *Cabar* ſive *Cubar* a Syria ſeu Babylonia *Venere* alia non erat; ſed commune iis, qui tam vicini erant, numen. *Cubar* enim ipſa *Venus* (quæ et Luna Dea) eſſe cenſebatur." And this is not his opinion only (*l*), "Ad Heraclii Imperatoris tempora Saraceni idolis dediti ſunt. *Luciferum* adorabant et *Venerem* quam *Cabar* ſua nominant lingua.

(*k*) Synt. 2. p. 21.

(*l*) Euthemius Zygabeenus in Panoplia. Catachefi Saracenonum.

lingua. *Cabar* autem *Magnam* interpretatur." Again —Catacheſi Saracenorum. "Anathematizo eos qui matutinum ſidus *Luciferum* et *Venerem* adorant, quam Arabum lingua *Chabar*, quod *Magnum* ſignificat, nominant. Sed vero (*m*) minimè diverſa ſentias *Luciferum* et *Venerum* numina." But, ſays Bochart, theſe Gods were called *Dioſcuire*, high, mighty, puiſſant. *Diſcir* is Iriſh for fierce, valiant, mighty; but is not this word more properly derived from *di* a God, *as* having, *curam* the care; *diaſcuram*, the God who had the particular care of them, as the Penates were ſuppoſed to have.

Polybius (*n*) has tranſmitted to us a treaty of a peace concluded between Philip ſon of Demetrius king of Macedon, and the Carthaginians, in which their intimate perſuaſion that the Gods aſſiſted and preſided over human affairs, and particularly over ſolemn treaties made in their name and preſence, is ſtrongly diſplayed. "This treaty was concluded in the preſence of Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, &c. in the preſence of the Dæmon of the Carthaginians; of Hercules, Iolaus, &c. &c."—It is very remarkable that this cuſtom prevailed in Ireland after Chriſtianity, even down to queen Elizabeth's reign, in all ſolemn contracts, bonds, deeds, &c. I have ſeen many ſentences of the Brehon laws, and other deeds and contracts, as late as the time here mentioned, all of which conclude thus, *abhfiádhnaiſi, dia air ttus, 7 A. 7 B.* &c. i. e. in the preſence of, God firſt, and of A. and of B. &c.

Marmol ſays, near the ſpot where Carthage once ſtood, the Chriſtians have erected a tower, on a

(*m*) Seld. Synt. 2. p. 21. (*n*) Lib. 7. p. 699.

rock which the Africans call *al menare*; which he interprets le roque de Maſtinace. *Almionaire* is in Iriſh the ſhameleſs rock, and wonderfully agrees with this author's explanation of the African *almenare*.

Nullibi plures reperies Punica quam apud Plautum in Pænulo;

which lines, ſays Bochart, (*o*) are partly Punic and partly Lybice, for they uſed both languages, as we may learn from Virgil:

Quippe domum tenet ambiguam, Tyriaſque bilingues.

And from Silius:

Diſcintos inter Libycos, populoſque bilingues.

And from Claudian:

Tollite Maſſylas fraudes, removete bilingues inſidias.

All which, with great deference to Bochart, does in my opinion prove no more than that the Punic language was a compound of the Lybian; not that the Carthaginians ſpoke ſometimes a ſentence in one, and ſometimes in another; that would be a moſt ridiculous ſuppoſition indeed: and I believe no inſtance can be given of people ſpeaking ſuch a dialect.

The following Punic ſpeech of Plautus will on conſideration be found to have as great or greater affinity with the ancient Iriſh, or *bearle Feni*, i. e. the Phœnician dialect, than with the Hebrew, and as with as few alterations of the text as are to be found in Bochart, Petit, Patreus, Pauſanias, Voſſius, &c.

I have

(*o*) Phaleg. p. 699.

I have now before me ſeveral editions of Plautus; each of them vary conſiderably in this ſpeech.

The curious and learned reader who would conſult the various copies of Plautus, will find a catalogue of 143 commentators on this author, in the edition publiſhed by Gronovius, at Leyden, in 1665.

The ſecond edition, in 1482, is to be found in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, from which the Punic ſpeech is tranſcribed, together with the Latin tranſlation. We have not ſufficient authority, from any of the editors, to ſay whether Plautus uſed the Phœnician or the Roman characters in this ſpeech: We know it was written during the ſecond Punic war, and the Roman letter was uſed in Carthage as early as the end of the firſt Punic war.

From the following confeſſion of Gronovius, we may judge what interpolations and omiſſions have been committed in this ſpeech by ignorant tranſcribers; "Punica hæc ſcripta erant ſine punctis vocalibis; ut et Hebræa ſive Phœnicia omnia; librarii vero vocales pro ingenii, et eruditionis ſuæ modulo ſubſtituerunt, falſo ſæpius quam factum vellem;" but he does not ſay he had ſeen the manuſcript, nor does he tell us from what authority he conjectures that this ſpeech was written in Phœnician characters.

In the French edition of Plautus by M. de Limiers, he has added the following note to this play. "Les dix lignes qu'il prononce (Hanno) en langue Punique ou Phenicienne, n'aiant jamais été ecrites qu'en caractéres Latins, et par des gens qui ne les entendoient

entendoiènt pas, il auroit été difficile d'en penétrer le veritable Sens.

And although, ſays Dr. Brerewood (*p*), that Punique ſpeech in Plautus, which is the only continued ſpeech of that language, that to my knowledge remaineth extant in any author, have no ſuch great convenience with the Hebrew tongue; yet I aſſure myſelf the faults and corruptions that have crept into it by many tranſcriptions, to have been the cauſe of ſo great difference, by reaſon whereof, it is much changed from what it was at firſt, when Plautus writ it, about 1800 years ago.

"Les Carthaginois, obſerves the learned M. Huet, (*q*) auroient pu apprendre des Africains l'uſage de la rime. Dans ceſuers Puniques que Plaute a inſerez dans ſon Penule, Selden (*r*) a cru avoir trouvè une rime entre le premier et le ſecond vers, ſans avoir pouſſè plus loin ſa recherche, ſuppoſant le reſte ſemblable. Mais ceux qui ont anatomiſè ces vers plus curieuſement, n'y ont rien apperçu de tel.

Had this ſpeech been the only remains of the Punic dialect, the author would not have attempted this collation, perſuaded from the above teſtimony, that we have not in our poſſeſſion the ſpeech of Hanno the Carthaginian, but of the various tranſcribers of Plautus; nay Plautus himſelf aſſures us, he founded his comedy on a Greek tragedy of Achilles Ariſtocles; and it may be conjectured by the dialogue in the next ſcene, between Milphio and Agaraſtocles, that he (Plautus) did not underſtand

(*p*) Enquiries touching the diverſity of languages, p. 57.
(*q*) Huetiana, p. 189.
(*r*) Selden de Dis Syr. Prol. c. 2.

ſtand the Punic language, more than Milphio, whom he has choſen as the interpreter.

The great affinity found in many words, nay whole lines and ſentences of this ſpeech, between the Punic and the Iriſh *(bearla feni)* ſtrengthened and ſupported by the collation in the former pages, urged the author to attempt an Iriſh tranſcript, and from thence to make a free tranſlation into the Engliſh; how far he has ſucceeded, muſt be left to the impartial critic.

From GRONOVIUS's Edition we give the ARGUMENT and the DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Quidam adoloſcens Carthaginienſis furtim ſurreptus, avehitur Calydonia in Ætoliam, et ibi venditur ſeni civi. Hic adoptavit illum, et moriens reliquit hæredem. Amabat adoloſcens puellam popularem et cognatam: patrui enim ea filia erat, quod ipſe neſciebat, nam prædones ruri deprehenſas duas parvulas filias hujus, una cum nutrice abductas lenoni Calydonio vendiderant in Anactorio, quod nomen loci, et oppidi fuit in Acarnania. Cum nihil æqui adoloſcens a lenone de ſuis amoribus impetrare poſſet, uſus ſervi ſui conſilio, inſidias fecit lenoni, ut ille furti manifeſti condemnaretur. Interea indicium fit, puellas eſſe Carthaginienſes ingenuas: et pater illarum (Hanno) qui ubique gentium ipſas quærebat, advenit, et eas agnoſcit; et majorem natu nuptum dat fratris filio.

DRAMATIS

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Agaraſtocles,	Adoloſcens Carthag.
Milphio,	Servus.
Adelphaſium, Anteraſtilis,	Meretrices.
Lycus,	Leno.
Anthemonides,	Miles.
Hanno,	Pœnus.

Giddeneme nutrix, &c. &c.

ACTUS QUINTI SCENA PRIMA.

From the Edition of MOCENIGUS.

Tarviſii 1482 *die* 21 *Junii Joanne Mocenigo Principe jucundiſſimo et Duce Foeliciſſimo. In the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.* T. T. 2. 4.

Nythalonim ualon uth ſi corathiſſima comſyth
Chim lach chunyth mumys tyal myćthibarii imiſchi
Lipho canet hyth bynuthii ad ædin bynuthii.
Byrnarob ſyllo homalonim uby miſyrthoho
Bythlym mothym noćtothii uelechanti daſmachon
Yſſidele brin thyfel yth chylys chon. them liphul
Uth. bynim yſdibur thynno cuth nu *Agoraſtocles*
Ythe maneth ihy chirſæ lycoth ſith naſo
Bynni id chil luhili gubulin laſibit thym
Bodyalyt herayn nyn nuys lym monchot luſim

Exanolim

Exanolim uolanus ſuccuratim miſtim atticum eſſe
Concubitum a bello cutin beant lalacant chona enus es
Huiec ſilic paneſſe athidmaſcon alem induberte felono buthume.
Celtum comucro lueni, at enim auoſo uber hent hyach Ariſtoclem
Et te ſe aneche naſoctelia elicos alemus duberter mi comps ueſpti
Aodeanec lictor bodes iuſſum limnimcolus.

From the ſame in Latin.

Deos deaſque veneror, qui hanc urbem colunt ut quod de mea re
Huc veneri te venerim. meaſque ut gnatas et mei fratris filium
Reperirem. eſiritis: id voſtram fidem quæ mihi ſurreptæ ſunt.
Et fratris filium. qui mihi ante hac hoſpes antimadas fuit
Eum feciſſe aiunt: ſibi quod faciundum fuit ejus filium
Hic prædicant eſſe Agoroſtoclem. Deum hoſpitalem ac teſſeram
Mecum fero. in hiſce habitare monſtratuſt regionibus.
Hos percontabor, qui huc egreduintur foras.

Bochart (*s*) thinks theſe lines of Plautus are partly Punic and partly Libyan: the ſix laſt he does

(*s*) Phaleg. ch. 2.

does not attempt to tranſcribe or tranſlate, but conjectures that they are a repetition of the ten firſt, in the Lybian language; the ten firſt he ſays are Punic, and he thus tranſcribes them in the Hebrew:

Na eth eljonim veeljonoth ſechorath iiſmecun zoth
Chi malachai jitthemu: maſlia middabarehen iſki.
Lephurcanath eth beni eth jad udi ubenothui
Berua rob ſellahem eljonim ubimeſuratebem.
Beterem moth anoth othi helech Antidamarchon
Is ſejada li; Beram tippel eth chele ſechinatim leophel
Eth ben amis dibbur tham nocot nave Agoraſtocles
Otheim anuthi hu chior ſeeli choc: zoth noſe
Binni ed chi lo haelle gebulim laſeboth tham
Bo di all thera inna; Hinno, eſal immancar lo ſem.

Which lines Bochart thus tranſlates into Latin.

Rogo Deos et Deas qui hanc regionem tuentur
Ut conſilia mea compleantur: Proſperum ſit ex ductu eorum negotium meum.
Ad liberationem filii mei manu prædonis, et filiarum mearum
Dii per ſpiritum multum qui eſtis in ipſis, et per providentiam ſuam
Ante obitum diverſari apud me ſolebat Antidamarchus.
Vir mihi familiaris; ſed is eorum cœtibus junctus eſt, quorum habitatio eſt in caligine.

Filium

Filium ejus conſtans fama eſt ibi fixiſſe ſedem Agoraſtoclem (nomine)

Sigillum hoſpitii mei eſt tabula ſculpta, cujus ſculptura eſt Deus meus: id fero.

Indicavit mihi teſtis eum habitare in his finibus.

Venit aliquis per portam hanc; Ecce eum; rogabo nunquid noverit nomen (Agoraſtoclis.)

We

We will now collate this ſpeech with the Iriſh.

PLAUTUS.

Nyth al o nim ua lonuth ſicorathiſſi me com ſyth (*t*)
Chim lach chunyth mum ys tyal myſthi barii im ſchi.

IRISH.

N'iaith all o nimh uath lonnaithe! ſocruidhſe me com ſith.
Omnipotent much dreaded Deity of this country! aſſwage my troubled mind,
Chimi lach chuinigh! muini is toil, miocht beiridh iar mo ſcith
(thou) the ſupport of feeble (*u*) captives! being now exhauſted with fatigue, of thy free will guide me to my children.

PLAUTUS.

Lipho can ethyth by mithii ad ædan binuthii
Byr nar ob ſyllo homal o nim! ubymis iſyrthoho.

IRISH.

Liomhtha can ati bi mitche ad éadan beannaithe,
O let my prayers be perfectly acceptable in thy ſight.
Bior nar ob ſiladh umhal; o nimh! ibhim a frotha!
An inexhauſtible fountain to the humble; O Deity! let me drink of its ſtreams!

PLAUTUS.

(*t*) We have a remarkable Iriſh poem written in the 13th century, beginning much in the ſame manner,

"Athair chaidh choimſidh neimhe"

(*u*) *Captives*; his daughters.

IRISH *verbum verbo.*

(*w*) O all nimh (1) n'iaith, lonnaith, (2) uath! ſocruidhſe me com ſith
O mighty Deity of this country, powerful, terrible! quiet me with reſt.
Chuinigh lach (3) chimithe; is toil, muini beiridh (4) miocht,
A ſupport of weak captives; be thy will to inſtruct (me) to obtain my children,
Iar mo ſcith (5)
After my fatigue.

(6) Can ati liomtha (7) mitche bi beannaithe ad eadan, (8)
Let it come to paſs, that my earneſt prayers be bleſſed before thee,
Bior nar ob ſiladh umhal; O Nimh! ibhim a frotha,
A fountain denied not to drop to the humble; O Deity that I may drink of its ſtreams.

IRISH

(*w*) See Lhwyd and O Brien's Dictionaries for theſe words:

(1) *iath*, land, territory, as *iath o neachach*, a part of the county of Waterford.
(2) *uath*, dread, terrible. Lh. O Br.
(3) *cime*, *cimidh*, *cimeadh*, priſoners, *cimim*, to enſlave. OBr.
(4) *iochd*, children, *miocht*, my children. O Br.
(5) Marique terraque uſque quaque quæritat. Plaut. Prolog. lin. 105.
(6) *con adi*, let it ſo happen. Old Parchments.
(7) *itche*, a petition, requeſt; *liomtha*, pronounced *limpha*. O Br.
(8) *ad' eadan*, in thy face, *eadan*, the front of any thing.

PLAUTUS.

Byth lym mo thym noctothii nel ech an ti daiſc machon
Ys i de lebrim thyfe lyth chy lys chon temlyph ula

IRISH.

Beith liom! mo thime noctaithe, niel ach an ti daiſic mac coinne
Forſake me not! my earneſt deſire is now diſcloſed, which is only that of recovering my daughters;
Is i de leabhraim tafach leith, chi lis con teampluibh ulla
This was my fervent prayer, lamenting their misfortunes in thy ſacred temples.

PLAUTUS.

IRISH *verbum verbo.*

Beith liom! mo (1) thime (2) noctaithe, niel ach an ti (3)
Be with me! my fears being diſcloſed, I have no other intention but
(4) daiſic, macoinne. (5)
of recovering my daughters.
(6) tafach a (7) leith, is i de leabhraim, (8) chi lis (9)
this particular requeſt, was what I made, bewailing their misfortunes,
con (10) ulla teampluibh.
in (thy) ſacred temples.

IRISH

(1) *tim*, *time*, fear, dread. O Br. alſo pride, eſtimation.
(2) *nocdaighe*, & *nocta* naked, open, diſcloſed. O Br.
(3) *ti* deſign, intention. Lh. *do rabhadar ar ti*, they intended. Nehem. iv. 7. *noch do bhi ar ti lamh do chur*, who deſigned to lay hands. Eſt. vi. 2.
(4) *aiſioc*, reſtitution: *aiſiocadh* to reſtore. Lh. O Br.
(5) *mac choinne* daughters; *macoamh*, a youth, a girl. O Br.
(6) *tafac* craving, alſo exhortation. Lh. O Br.
(7) *a leith*, diſtinct, particular. ibid.
(8) *ci*, to lament; *a mhacain na ci*, lament not young men. O Br.
(9) *lis*, evil, miſchief. O Br.
(10) *ulla*, a place of devotion. O Br.

PLAUTUS.

Uth bynim ys diburt hynn ocuthnu Agoraſtocles
Ythe man eth ihychirſae lycoth ſith naſa.

IRISH.

Uch bin nim i is de beart inn a ccomhnuithe Agoraſtocles!
O bounteous Deity! it is reported here dwelleth Agoraſtocles!
Itche mana ith a chithirſi; leicceath ſith noſa!
Should my requeſt appear juſt, here let my diſquietudes ceaſe!

PLAUTUS.

Buini id chillu ili guby lim la ſi bithym
Bo dyalyther aynnyn myſly mono chetl us im.

IRISH.

Buaine na iad cheile ile: gabh liom an la ſo bithim'!
Let them be no longer concealed; O that I may this day find my daughters!
Bo dileachtach nionath n'iſle, mon cothoil us im
they will be fatherleſs, and preys to the worſt of men, unleſs it be thy pleaſure I ſhould find them.

PLAUTUS.

IRISH *verbum verbo.*

Uch bin nim! is de beart inn, accomhnùithe Agoraſtocles
O ſweet Deity! it is ſaid in this place, dwells Agoraſtocles
(1) mana itche a chithirſi (2) ith; noſa (3) leicceath ſith.
if the cauſe of my requeſt ſhould ſeem to you to be juſt; now grant (me) peace.

na cheile iad (4) buaine (5) ile; gabh liom (6) bithm' an la ſo!
do not conceal them for ever; O that I may find my daughters this day!
dileachtach bo nionath n'iſle; mona codthoil
being orphans, they will be the prey of the very dregs of men; unleſs it be thy will
(7) us im
(to give) tydings about them.

To obviate the cenſure of the modern Iriſhman we have quoted the authors where the obſolete words in the foregoing ſpeech of Hanno are to be found.

(1) *mana*, a cauſe or occaſion. O Br.
(2) *idh* or *ith*, good, juſt. Lh. O Br.
(3) *leicceadh* or *leigeadh*, to permit. O Br.
(4) *buaine*, perpetuity, continuance. O Br.
(5) *ile*, a diverſity, a difference, partially. O Br.
(6) *bithe*, females, belonging to the female ſex. O Br.
Hanno here prays they may not be partially conceal.d, i. e. that he may diſcover his nephew, Agoraſtocles, as well as his daughters, and then breaks out with the following ejaculation, reſpecting his daughters particularly.
(7) *us*, news, tydings. O Br.

PLAUTUS.

Ec anolim uo lanus ſuccur ratim miſti atticum eſſe
Con cubitu mabel lo cutin bean tla la cant chona enuſes.

IRISH.

Ece all o nim uath lonnaithe! ſocair-ratai mitche aiticimſe
But mighty and terrible Deity, look down upon me! fulfil the prayers I now offer unto thee,
Con cuibet meabail le cuta bean, tlait le caint con iniſis,
without effeminate deceit or rage, but with the utmoſt humility, I have repreſented my unfortunate ſituation.

PLAUTUS.

Huie cſi lec pan eſſe, athi dm as con alem in dubart felo no buth ume
Celt um co mu cro lueni! ateni mauo ſuber r benthyach Agoraſtoclem.

IRISH.

Huch! caiſi leicc pian eſſe athi dam, as con ailim in dubart felo
Ogh! the neglect of this petition will be death to me! let no ſecret diſappointment
no buth ume
befall me.
Celt uaim c'a mocro luani! athini me an ſubha ar beanuath Agoraſtocles.
Hide not from me the children of my loins! and grant me the pleaſure of recovering Agoraſtocles.

PLAUTUS.

IRISH *verbum verbo.*

all o nim lonnaithe, uath Ece! (1) ratai ſocair. mitche (2) aiticimſe.

O great Deity powerful, terrible, Behold (me)! proſper with ſucceſs my petition I aſk.

(3) Con cuibet (4) meabail le cuta (5) bean; le tlait c'aint iniſis con (6)

Without deceitful fraud or effeminate rage; with humble ſpeech I have told my meaning.

Huch! (7) leicc caiſi as con ailim, pian eſſe (8) aith (9) dhamhna bioth

Alas! the neglect of the cauſe I have ſet before thee, would be the pains of death to me, let me not

uaim an feile dobart (10)

meet any ſecret miſchief.

Celt (11) c'a uaim (12) cro mo luani; aithin me an ſubha (13) beanuath

Hide not from me the children of my loins; and grant me the pleaſure of recovering

ar Agoraſtocles. (14)

Agoraſtocles.

(1) *rathai*, to make proſperous. Lh. O Br. *ſocair*, proſperity, reflective. (2) *aitichim*, to pray or entreat. ibid. (3) *con* pro *gan*, old MSS. (4) *cuibhet*, fraud, cheat. (5) *cutha*, rage, fury. (6) *con*, ſenſe, meaning. O Br. (7) *leicc*, neglect. O Br. (8) *eſſ*, death. Lh. O Br. (9) *aith*, quick, ſudden. Lh. (10) *dobart*, miſchief. O Br. (11) *cro*, children. *Dichu go lion cro.* i. e. *go lion clann.* Lh. (12) *cha* for *ni*, old MSS; frequently uſed by the old Iriſh at this day; as, *cha deanan*, I will not do it. (13) *beanughadh*, to recover. *do bhean ſe ar tiomlan*, he recovered the whole. Lh. (14) His nephew,

PLAUTUS.

Ex te ſe anechc na ſoctelia eli cos alem as dubert ar mi comps,

Ueſptis Aod eanec lic tor bo deſiuſſum lim nim co lus.

IRISH.

Ece te ſo a Neach na ſoichle uile cos ailim as dubairt;

Behold O Deity, theſe are the only joys I earneſtly pray for;

ar me compais,

take compaſſion on me,

is bidís Aodh eineac lic Tor, ba deſiughim le mo nimh co lus.

and grateful fires on ſtone towers, will I ordain to blaze to Heaven.

IRISH *verbum verbo.*

Ece a (1) Neach ete ſo uile cos na ſoichle (2) ailim as (3) dubairt;
behold, O Deity, this is every conſideration of joy, I earneſtly pray for;
ar me (4) compais,
take pity on me
is bidís (5) eineac (6) Aodh ar (7) lic tor ba deſiughim co lus
and there ſhall be grateful fires on ſtone towers, which I will prepare to burn
le mo nimh.
to my Deity.

(1) *neach*, i. e. *neamhach*, a heavenly ſpirit. O Br.
(2) *ailim*, to pray or intreat. Lh. O Br.
(3) *dubairt*, an earneſt prayer. O Br.
(4) *chompais*, compaſſion, pity. O Br.
(5) *eineach*, bountiful, liberal. O Br.
(6) *Aodh*, fire. Lh. O Br.
(7) *lic*, *leicc*, a ſtone; *liac*, a great ſtone. O Br.

ACTUS

ACTUS QUINTI SCENA SECUNDA.

AGORASTOCLES. MILPHIO. HANNO.

MILP. ADibo hoſce, atque appellabo Punicè;
Si reſpondebunt, Punicè pergam loqui:
Si non: tum ad horum mores linguam vertero.
Quid ais tu? ecquid adhuc commeminiſti Punicè?
AG. Nihil adepol. nam qui ſcire potui, dic mihi,
Qui illinc ſexennis perierim Karthagine?
HAN. Prò Di immortales! plurimi ad hunc modum
Periere pueri liberi Karthagine.
MIL. Quid ais tu? AG. Quid vis? MIL. Vin' appellem hunc Punicè? AG. An ſcis? MIL. Nullus me eſt hodie Poenus Puniòr.
AG. Adi atque appella, quid velit, quid venerit,
Qui ſit quojatis, unde ſit: ne parſeris.
MIL. Avo! quojatis eſtis? aut quo ex oppido?
HAN. Hanno Muthumballe bi Chaedreanech.

Iriſh.

Hanno Muthumbal bi Chathar dreannad.
I am Hanno Muthumbal dwelling at Carthage.
Chathar dreannad, ſignifies the good city; we have already ſhown from good authority, that it was alſo called *Cathar agadh*. See the word Carthage.
Lambinus reads this paſſage thus; *Hanno Muthum Balle beccha edre anech.*
Reineſius has it thus; *Muthum talis ben chadre anech.* Which he tranſlates, Deum vel Dominum Averni, Ditem, ſeu Plutonem: *Muth* id eſt Pluto Phœnicibus, ſeu domicilium mortis.
That *muth* in the Punic and *meuth* in the Iriſh, ſignifies death, deſtruction, decay, &c. we have ſhown in the preceding collation of the Punica Malteſe words with the Iriſh

Iriſh; but that *Muthumbal* was Punicè a proper name, is evident from a Punic medal now in the choice cabinet of the earl of Charlemont, round the exergue of which is the word MVTHVMBALLVS, and on the reverſe, the city of Carthage, with ſome Phœnician characters.—This is alſo a ſtrong proof of the early introduction of the Roman letters among the Carthaginians, and a ſufficient reaſon, in my opinion, that no other characters have been found in uſe amongſt the antient Iriſh than the old Roman or Etruſcan, except the contractions which are to be found in the Chaldean, Coptic, &c.

AG. Quid ait? MIL. Hannonem ſeſe ait Karthagine Carthaginienſem Muthumballis filium.

HAN. *Avo.* MIL. Salutat. HAN. *Donni.*

MIL. Doni volt tibi dare hinc neſcio quid, audin' pollicerier?

Avo! donni!

Alas! moſt unfortunate that I am.

Abho, pronounced *avo*, and *donaidhe*, the compar. of *dona*, unfortunate, are interjections common among the Iriſh to this day.

AG. Saluta hunc rurſus Punicè verbis meis.

MIL. *Avo donni!* hic mihi tibi inquit verbis ſuis.

HAN. Me bar bocca!

Iriſh.

a ma babacht! O my ſweet youth. (meaning his nephew.)

MIL. Iſtuc tibi ſit potius quam mihi. AG. Quid ait?

MIL. Miſeram eſſe prædicat buccam ſibi
Fortaſſe medicos nos eſſe arbitrarier.

AG. Si ita eſt. Nega eſſe, nolo ego errare hoſpitem.

MIL. Audi tu rufen nuco iſtam. AG. Sic volo,
Profectò vera cuncta huic expedirier.
Roga, nunquid opus ſit? MIL. Tu qui Zonam non habes
Quid in hanc veniſtis urbem, aut quid quæritis?

HAN.

HAN. *Muphurſa!* AG. Quid ait? HAN. *Mi vule chianna!*

Iriſh.

Mo thuirſe! Mo buile chionna!
O my grief! My ſorrow is of long ſtanding.

AG. Quid venit?

MIL. Non audis? mures Africanos prædicat
In pompam ludis dare ſe velle ædilibus.

HAN. *Laech la chananim liminicbot.*

Iriſh.

Luach le cheannaighim liom miocht.
At any price I would purchaſe my children.

MIL. Ligulas canalis ait ſe advexiſſe et nuces:
Nunc orat, operam ut des ſibi, ut ea veneant.

AG. Mercator credo eſt. HAN. *Is am ar uinam.*

Iriſh.

Is am ar uinneam!
This is the time for reſolution!

AG. Quid eſt?

HAN. *Palum erga dectha!*

Iriſh.

Ba liom earga deacta.
I will ſubmit to the dictates of Heaven.

AG. Milphio, quid nunc ait.

MIL. Palas vendundas ſibi ait & mergas datas,
Ut hortum fodiat, atque ut frumentum metat.
Ad meſſim credo miſſus hic quidem tuam.

AG. Quid iſtuc ad me? MIL. Certiorem te eſſe volui,
Ne quid clam furtive accepiſſe cenſeas.

HAN. *Ma phannium ſucorahim.*

Iriſh.

me fuinim; ſocaraidhim;
that I may here finiſh my fatigue! and that I may now be at reſt!

MIL. hem! caue ſis feceris
Quod hic te orat. AG. Quid ait? aut quid orat? expedi.

MIL.

MIL. Sub cratim uti jubeas ſeeſe ſupponi, atque eo
Lapides imponi multos, ut ſeſe neces.
HAN. *Gun ebel Balſameni ar a ſan.*
Iriſh.
Guna bil Bal-ſamen ar a ſon!
O that the good Bal-ſamhan may favor them!
Bal-ſamhan, i. e. Beal the Sun, as explained before at the word Bal.
AG. Quid ait?
MIL. Non Hercle nunc quidem quicquam ſcio.
HAN. At ut ſcias nunc, de hinc latine jam loquar.
&c. &c.

In the THIRD SCENE of the FIFTH ACT of PLAUTUS, where the plot begins to open, are two more lines of the Punic language, and bearing a greater affinity with the old Iriſh than any of the former. In this Scene the old Nurſe recollects HANNO.

GIDDENEME, MILPHIO, HANNO, AGORASTOCLES.

GID. Quis pultat? MIL. Qui te proximus eſt. GID. Quid vis? MIL. Eho,
Noviſtin' tu illunc tunicatum hominem, qui ſiet.
GID. Nam quem ego aſpicio? prò ſupreme Juppiter, herus meus hic quidem eſt
Mearum alumnarum pater; Hanno Carthaginenſis.
MIL. Ecce autem mala, præſtigiator hic quidem Poenus probus eſt
Perduxit omnis ad ſuam ſententiam. GID. O mi here ſalve Hanno,
Inſperatuſſime mihi, tuiſque filius, ſalve atque eo
Mirari noli, neque me contemptarier. Cognoſcin' Giddenemen

Ancillam

Ancillam tuam? POE. Novi, ſed ubi ſunt meæ gnatæ? id ſcire expeto.

AGO. Apud ædem Veneris. POE. Quid ibi faciunt dic mihi?

AGO. *Aphrodiſia* (*x*) hodie Veneris eſt feſtus dies. Oratum ierunt deam, ut

Sibi eſſet propitia. GID. Pol ſatis ſcio impetrarunt, quando hic, hic

Adeſt. AGO. Eo an hujus ſunt illæ filiæ. GID. Ita ut prædicas.

Tua pietas nobis planè auxilio fuit. Cum huc adveniſti hodie in ipſo

Tempore. Namque hodie earum mutarentur nomina.

Facerentque indignum genere quæſtum corpore.

POE. Handone ſilli hanun bene ſilli in muſtine.

Handone ſilli hanum (*y*) bene, ſilli in (*z*) muſtine

Whenever Venus proves kind, or grants a favour, ſhe grants it linked or chained with misfortunes.

GID. Meipſi & en eſte dum & a lam na ceſtin um.

Meipi 7 an eiſti dam 7 (*a*) alaim na ceiſtin am (*b*).

Hear me, and judge, and do not too haſtily queſtion me (about this ſurprize).

The

(*x*) The *Aphrodiſia* were celebrated in honour of Venus at Cyprus and other places. Here they who would be initiated, gave a piece of money to Venus, as to a proſtitute, and received preſents from her. Abbe Banier.

(*y*) *Bene*, Celtic, from whence Venus.

(*z*) This is a compound of *muis* and *tine*; *muis* a frowning, contracted, menacing brow, *tine* a link of a chain.

(*a*) alaim *alam*, out of hand, off-hand, indiſcriminately.

(*b*) am no um .i. olc.

ceiſtinim. to queſtion, to doubt, to be afraid.

The following ſpecimen of the Bearla Feni or Phœnician dialect of this country is extracted from ancient law books now in the author's poſſeſſion; the language will appear much more foreign to the vulgar Iriſh of this day than the Punic ſpeech of Hanno.

Extract from the *Sehanchas mór* or the *Great Antiquity*, being a code of laws compoſed by Sean the ſon of Aigid in the time of Fergus Mac Leid king of Ulſter, 26 years before the birth of Chriſt.

" Tir do beir icoibchi mna nad bi maith naduidnaidet a folta coire.
Tir do beir dar braigit fine aratreiſſu indatengaid déc diathintud. Oldas intoentenga doaſcud.
Gach fuidir conatothcus techta. Niicca cinaid a meic. Nachai nachaiarmui nach aindui nach a comoccus fine. Nach acinaid fadeiſin flathair idmbiatha iſe iccaſs acinaid. Airnilais dire aſeoit achd colauin aithgena nama nigaib dire ameic nai naca dibad naceraicc nacha mathair flaith arambiatha iſſi nodbeir, agus iccas achinaid agus folloing acinta."

The following ſpecimen is extracted from another ancient manuſcript on vellum in the author's poſſeſſion. This manuſcript, as alſo that from whence the foregoing is taken, bears the name of Edward Lhwyd on ſeveral leaves, and from the following paſſage given by that author at the end of his preface to his Iriſh dictionary, it is evident theſe manuſcripts did once belong to the collection of that great antiquary.

Mr.

Mr. Lhwyd has done great injuſtice to the original, as he did not underſtand our (*c*) *Cionn fa eite* or *Cor fa chaſan*, i. e. the *Bouſtrophedon* of the Iriſh; and has conſequently made a ſtrange jumble of unconnected words.

Mr. Lhwyd prefaces this paſſage in theſe words: "Ar an adhbhair gur nach lánchloidhte an dhulthaobh ſin, cuirim an ſo ſhios Siompladha eigein as leabhruibh Ghaoidheilg ro aoſda. Mas eidir leis aon Leughthoir ſa nEirin no Halbuin a heidirmhiniughadh: ataim ſar dhulchannach coimhfhreagradh dfagail leis. Do thairng me iad choimhcheart budh feidir leam amach as ſean mheamruinibh a Mbaile ath cliath." i. e. "As the following pages are not in print, I have here given an example of very ancient Iriſh out of certain old books. If any reader in Ireland or Scotland is able to explain it, I earneſtly requeſt his correſpondence. I drew theſe examples as exact as I could from old parchments in Dublin."

The

(*c*) *Cionn fa eite* (*eitire* or *eitrigh*) ſignifies the head of a ridge, and *Cor fa chaſan* means the reaper's path; they are commonly denoted in ancient manuſcripts by this mark ⊃ or this ↄC, which imply, that a ſentence finiſhes, and that the reader is to go to the next line, from the end of which he is to turn to the *Cionn fa eite*. Whether the ancient Iriſh returned from right to left as the Phœnicians did, does not appear from any manuſcripts that have fallen in the author's way, or whether the Carthaginians did, has not occurred to his reading. We know the Grecians practiſed the *Bouſtrophedon*, which they learned from the Phœnicians. Pauſanias, lib. 5. 320. mentions an inſcription written in this manner on a monument dedicated to Olympius by Cypſelus; and Suidas remarks the laws of Solon were written in the ſame manner on the Axones and Cyrbes. It is remarkable that the interpretation of *Bouſtrophedon*, and of *Cionn fa eite* is extremely ſimilar, both meaning the ridges of a plowed field, which are returned from right to left, and from left to right.

The Extract according to Lhwyd.

Page 250. Buidin inrighan. 1. rabacca oc eiſteachd fri ſin atæſc don reilg aitt iriubhe iacob ag ingrai cærach conep—fris cotiſadh dochaſnumh nabeans̄ an friſin inncail cinnus do de nuinnſi ol iacóp iſin ſo olſi. 1. marbhtha le tuime ann olamr̄.

The Extract from the Original.

——ↄCsin, 7 ro eirigh reimpi iar ndul do chách Buid in righan. 1. rebeccà oc eiſteachd fris in athaeſc don tſeilcc, aitt iraibhe iacop ag inguiri caerach. ↄep- fris, cotiſad do choſnumh na beanneachdan fris ſin mac aile. Cinnus do denuinn ſin ol iacop; iſe ſo ol ſi. 1. marbhthar latſa meannan ol a mr̄, 7 fuinntir lat 7 tabair do. Ocus dō fuaid c°iceann meannain fót laimh, aris̄ iéſáu, ar is finnfadᶜ. lamha iéſáu. Do gni iacop in nisin, 7 fulactaigh in meannain, 7 beirid lais inbrochan, 7 atnaigh dia atair. Ocus adbt̄ ris; caith inſeire ol ui. A mic ol iſác, is moc do rochdais on tſeilcc indiu ſeach gā lá riamh, mas for fir atai. In ceud tſeilcc for andeachus is fuirre fuaras adbair ſére 7 b°chain deitſiu; iſe ſin dom fúc co moch. Na hapuir brég ol ſe, oir is tuſa iacop 7 nca̅ tu iéſáu. Is deaim̄ eam nᶜ aiberainn gai ataḡ ol ſe. Sin uait do laimh ol iſác, co feaſam inn tu ieſau. Sinis uadh a laimh dó, 7 c°icinn mininn impi. Geibidh iſac in laimh. Is fota atai oc imriſin friom ar iacob, ar is me iáſáu. Atnaigh iſaac oc lamuch—na laimhe 7 ad bt̄. Is i laimh ieſau ol iſaac, 7 is e guth iacob. &c. &c.

The two firſt lines of which muſt be read thus.

Buid in righan. 1. rebecca oc eiſteachd fris in athaeſc ſin, 7 ro eirigh reimpi iar ndul chách don tſeilcc, aitt iraibhe iacop, &c. &c.

The

The TRANSLATION. *(d)*.

The Queen, viz. Rebecca, hearing this diſcourſe, after the people were gone to hunt, ſhe ſtraightway aroſe, and went to Jacob where he was tending his ſheep. She told him he ſhould receive the bleſſing inſtead of the other ſon. How ſhall I do that, quoth Jacob; do this, ſays ſhe; viz. kill a kid, and dreſs it and give it to him, and I will ſow the ſkin of the kid upon thy hands to reſemble Eſau, for the hands of Eſau are hairy. Jacob did ſo, and dreſſed the kid and brought with him the pottage and preſented it to his father; and he ſaid to him, eat this meſs. O ſon, ſays Iſaac, you are returned this day from hunting earlier than any former day, if you tell the truth. At the firſt-hunt I quickly found wherewith to make you a meſs of pottage, and that is the reaſon, ſays Jacob, I returned ſo ſoon. Tell not a lie, ſays he, for thou art Jacob, and thou art not Eſau. Truly, replied he, I would not tell a lie before thee. Stretch forth thy hands, ſays Iſaac, that I may know thou art Eſau. He ſtretched forth his hands to him with the ſkin of the kid about them;

(d) Doctor O Brien has quoted this valuable manuſcript frequently in his Iriſh dictionary as a ſtandard of the *Bearla feñi* or Phœnician dialect of the ancient Iriſh; ſee the words *fualachtadh*, *ſeire*, &c. in his dictionary.

O Brien calls this the ſpeckled book, or *leabhar breac* of Mac Eogan, properly Mac Aodhagan. Keating and biſhop Nicolſon mention *leabhar breac* of Mac Eoghan as a valuable chronicle of the Iriſh hiſtory, and this manuſcript before us contains only the lives of the patriarchs and Moſes, ſo that probably there are two manuſcripts of the ſame author under the ſame name: this is ſuppoſed to be a copy of the Old Teſtament brought to Ireland either by St. Kieran, St. Aillu, St. Declan or St Ibar, the precurſors of St. Patrick.

them; Iſaac took the hand. Thou art long ſuſpicious of me, ſays Jacob; I am Eſau. Iſaac feeling the hand ſaid, this is the hand of Eſau, and it is the voice of Jacob, &c. &c. Vide Geneſis, chap. 27.

Mr. Lhwyd has extracted the following paſſage from the ſame book, and with greater miſtakes than in the former.

Do rias umro iacop iarſin go atair, feiſinrotid dha imdha exam a doiaſau. 1. diabrathriarbh 7 an biſidh ficairdine bhunuidh 7 a mbrathairſi iarſin ite ann ſo na haſgadha. 1. 200 cærach 7 200 gabhar 7 xxx camhal 7 xl bo. 20. reiti, 20 tarbh ocech ut dx. Da. c. coera xx boc da. c. ngabur tre ginn ngort ix reithi rad cenlochd xl bó reithi balc. Fiche tarbh nach taraill tonn 7 xxx ngall xx aiſan aluinnoll ocus xx oiceach ann. hillogh ſhidha iaſau ſut. o iacop cembrigh a brecc. febh adcuadus duibhi ar fir iſe ſin allin na. c. da. c. coerrc. &c.

Here follows the Extract taken exactly from the Original.

————————————ↄC luic aſga
Do riās umro iacop iarſin go atair feiſin ro tid-
dha imdha exam̄a doiáſáu. 1. dia brath ar b7' doib
iſidh 7 i
caird ne bhunuidh 7 ambrathairſi iarſin. Ite ann ſo na
haſgadha. 1. 200. caer^e 7 200 gab^u 7. xxx camaill 7
xl. bó.
20 reithi. xx tarbh ocech, ut dx̄.

Da. c. caera. xx. boc,
da. c. ngabhur tre gnim̄ ngart.

xx

xx reithi rad cenlochd,
xl bó reithi balc.
Fiche tarbh taraill tonn,
7 xxx camhall ngall, (*e*)
xx aſſan aliunn oll,
ocus xx óiceach ann.
Hillogh ſhidha iáſáu ſút
o iacop cen brigha brécc.
febh ad cuadhas daibh iár fír
is é ſin allín na. c.
Da. c. caera. &c.

Mr. Lhwyd having confounded the verſe with the proſe, and having neglected the *Cionn fa eite*, has rendered this paſſage entirely obſcure: The laſt line, *Da. c. caera*, is a repetition of the firſt line of the verſe; this method was obſerved by all the ancient poets of Ireland to ſhow the copy was complete.

The TRANSLATION.

Therefore after Jacob had been with his father, he preſented divers gifts to Eſau his brother, as the pledge of his brotherly peace and friendſhip thenceforward: Theſe are the gifts; viz. 200 ewes, and 200 ſhe-goats, and 30 camels, and 40 cows; 20 rams, 20 young bulls, as the poet has ſaid.

Two hundred ewes, xx he-goats
Two hundred ſhe-goats, he generouſly beſtow'd.
xx rams without fault he gave,
xl kine, which proudly herd together.

Twenty

(*e*) *Gall.* lac, Latinè, milk; old gloſſary in my poſſeſſion. *Gall* is alſo tranſlated milk in M'Naghton's dictionary in the college-library.

Twenty bulls with maſſy hides,
And xxx camels giving milk,
xx very fair ſhe-aſſes,
And xx colts along with them.

Theſe were the peace-offerings to Eſau,
From Jacob moſt ſincerely given;
For having wandered from the truth.
Theſe are the numbers of the hundreds (given). *(f)*

By the Arabian numerals uſed in the manuſcript, we may nearly aſcertain the time it was written: the figures are not Arabic, nor ſo old as thoſe given us by Jo. de ſacro Boſco, nor are they the antient Saxon, but they are all our modern figures improved from the Arabian. Dr. Wallis is of opinion, contrary to J. Gerard Voſſius and father Mabillon, that the uſe of figures in theſe European parts, was as old at leaſt as the time of Hermannus Contractus, who lived about the year of our Lord 1050; and he vouches an old mantle-tree at Helmdon in Northamptonſhire with this date, A°. D°. M°. 133 that is, 1133.

Mr. Luffkin afterwards produced an inſcription from Colcheſter of the date of 1090.

Dr. Harris, in his hiſtory of Kent, gives the date on a window at *Preſton* thus, 1102, and obſerves that the figures uſed at preſent were firſt generally made uſe of about 1120.

The poem quoted by our author is of much greater antiquity; the Roman numerals only being uſed.

(f) Vide Geneſ. xxxii. 13.

It is not probable that the Iriſh received the uſe of figures directly from the Spaniards; as all intercourſe with that nation was ſtopped, long before figures were improved by them into their preſent form. Profeſſor Wallis thinks they came firſt from the Perſians or Indians to the Arabians, and from them to the Moors, and ſo to the Spaniards. This was the opinion of John Gerard Voſſius, John Greaves, biſhop Beveridge and many others.

Jeoff. Keating mentions an ancient chronicle of Iriſh affairs written by Mac Aodhagain, entitled the *Leabhar Breac*, which he ſays was then 300 years old; Keating finiſhed his hiſtory in 1625; we may therefore conclude this MS. to be part of the ſame *Leabhar Breac* or ſpeckled book of Mac Eogain, who died in the year 1325.

It cannot be properly called *a very ancient* MS. as Mr. Lhwyd terms it in the ſhort preface to his quotations; but it is a ſtrong proof that the Iriſh language of this day is totally different in ſenſe and orthography, to that dialect ſpoken 400 years ago. The abuſes which have been admitted into this language by the liberties taken by the modern poets, ſhall be the ſubject of another work.

We have already taken notice, that on comparing the Baſcongada or Biſcayan language with the Iriſh, there does not appear the leaſt affinity. The author of this eſſay has carefully peruſed the Biſcayan grammar written by Larramendi, and could not perceive the leaſt affinity between that language and the Iriſh, even in thoſe parts of ſpeech, which generally bear ſome affinity between

tween two dialects formed on the same radical language.

Mr. Baretti, in the fourth volume of his journey from London to Genoa, has taken upon him to say the same, and has given the *Pater Noster* in the Biscayan and in Irish; the former varies so much from that given by (*g*) Wilkins, (*h*) Megeserius, (*i*) Reuterus, and the (*k*) anonymous publisher of the Lord's Prayer in one hundred languages; and the Irish given by Mr. Baretti is so mutilated, that the author of these sheets could not pass it by unnoticed. The reader is here presented with Mr. Baretti's Biscayan and Irish in one column, and in the opposite with the Biscayan from the above named authors, to which is added the proper Irish.

Baretti.	Wilkins. Megiserius. Reuter.
I	
Pater Noster qui es in cœlis sanctificetur nomen tuum.	
I	I
Biscayan.	Biscayan.
Gure Aita ceruetant zarena erabil bedi sainduqui zure icena.	Gure Aita cerue tan aicena sanctifica bedi hire icena.
Irish.	Proper Irish.
Ar Nahir ata ere neave guh neavsiar thanem.	Ar nAthair ata ar neamh, naomthar hainm.

(*g*) Wilkins in Op. Anglico. de lingua Phil. p. 435.
(*h*) H. Megiserius in Spec. 50 lingu.
(*i*) J. Reuterus Livon. in Perat. Dom. 40 lingu.
(*k*) Oratio Domin. London 1700.

Baretti. Wilkins. Megiſer. Reuter.

2

Advenit regnum tuum.

2 2

Biſcayan. Biſcayan.

Ethor bedi zure erreſuma. Et hoz bedi hire rechúma.

Iriſh. Proper Iriſh.

Gudhaga de riaught. Tigeadh do rioghach.

3

Fiat voluntas tua ſicut in cælo et in terra.

3 3

Biſcayan. Biſcayan.

Eguin bedi zure borondatea ceruam bezala lurream ere. Eguin bedi hire vozondatea cervan be cala lurrean ere.

Iriſh. Proper Iriſh.

Gu nahium de heil ar dallugh marr thainter ere neave. Déuntar do thoil ar an ttalamh mar do nithear ar neamh.

4

Panem noſtrum quotidianum, da nobis hodie.

4 4

Biſcayan. Biſcayan.

I guzu egon gure eguneco og uia. Gure eguneco oguia igue egun.

Iriſh. Proper Iriſh.

Thourdune nughe ar naran leahule. Ar narán leathamhail tabhair dhuinn a niu.

Baretti. Wilkins. Megiſer. Reuter.

5

Et dimitte nobis debita noſtra.

5 5

Biſcayan. Biſcayan.

Eta barkhua detzagutzu gure corrac. Eta quitta jetrague gure cozrac.

Iriſh. Proper Iriſh.

Moughune are veigha. Agus maith dhúinn at bhfiacha.

6

Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus noſtris.

6 6

Biſcayan. Biſcayan.

Guc gure gana zordun direnei barkhateem deruztegun bezala. Nola gúcre gûre cozduney quittatzen baitra vegu.

Iriſh. Proper Iriſh.

Marvoughimon yare vieghuna fane. Mar mhaithmídne dar bhféitheamhnuibh féin.

7

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

7 7

Biſcayan. Biſcayan.

Eta ezgaitzatzula utz tentamendutan crorcera. Eta quitta zalaſar eracitenta tentatione tan.

Iriſh. Proper Iriſh.

Na leaghſhine a caghue. Agus na léig ſinn a ccathughadh.

Sed

Baretti. Wilkins. Megiſer. Reuter.

8

Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

8 8

Biſcayan. Biſcayan.

Aitcitic beguira gaitzatzu gaicetic. Halabiz.

Baima delibza gaitzac gaich totic.

Iriſh. Proper Iriſh.

Agh cere ſhen onululkt. baigh marſon (*l*) a hearna. Amen.

Achd ſáor inn o olc. biodh mar ſin: *id eſt.* Amen.

(*l*) *a hearna* if uſed, ſhould be written, *a thighearna*, id eſt, O Lord.

REMARKS

REMARKS

ON THE

ESSAY ON THE ANTIQUITY

OF THE

IRISH LANGUAGE.

ADDRESSED TO THE

PRINTER OF THE LONDON CHRONICLE,

IN THE YEAR 1772.

SIR,

IN the preſent Century ſome uſeful reſearches have been made into European antiquities, and the ſubject having fallen under the direction of a higher principle than bare curioſity, much may be expected from future inveſtigations. Relatively to our own northern nations, the ends propoſed, and the means purſued, are now admirably ſuited to each other: to learn, as much as can be known of their ancient hiſtory, it has been judiciouſly concerted to reject in the lump, every modern hypotheſis, generally containing fewer deformities, but certainly fewer truths than the ancient documents they are brought to demoliſh. It was deemed proper alſo, to try the ſwollen panegyrics of ancient bards,

bards, and the ſeveral invectives of ancient ſtrangers, by the degrees of probability on one ſide, and the means of information on the other; to weigh at the ſame time the credibility of the facts in which both agree, and inveſtigate the reaſon why old writers, who could not act in concert, happened to agree ſo well. It was further found expedient to try the pretenſions of domeſtic hiſtorians, by getting acquainted with the languages, in which they conveyed their informations; a drudgery not to be borne, were it not rewarded by real knowledge; by infallible ſignatures of the defects, and grammatical incongruities, which point out at once an unlettered and barbarous nation, or thoſe elegancies of expreſſion and commodious texture of words which declare a civilized one. On theſe principles, aſſociations for the ſtudy of our northern antiquities have been eſtabliſhed in ſeveral European kingdoms, and within the preſent year the ſpirit has happily migrated into Ireland. The Dublin Society, (now ſo celebrated in Europe) have appointed a *ſelect committee* of their own body to inſpect into the ancient ſtate of literature and arts in Ireland, and Mr. Vallancey one of the learned members of that committee, has already given the public a ſpecimen of his abilities, in an *Eſſay on the Iriſh Language*; it is a new and great acceſſion to European literature, and without any doubt the forerunner of a greater. To trace languages to their fountain heads; to point out the ſtreams they have mingled with in their deſcent to our own times, and mark the changes they underwent, in their ſeveral ſtages of improvement

and

and corruption is an arduous taſk moſt certainly. Few nations can afford ſufficient materials for ſuch an inveſtigation; few writers have ſkill enough to accommodate ſuch materials to the purpoſes of uſeful information. The learned pains of moſt philologers ſerved only to cover their ignorance of particulars which alone ſhould enſure ſucceſs to their inquiries. They have ſurfeited the world with etymologies unſupported by probability, with grammatical conceits unattended with rational analogy, and with hypotheſis contradicted by ancient records, and inadmiſſible had no ſuch records exiſted. From the learned Goropius Becanus down to the ingenious tranſlator of Oſſian they have done nothing elſe. The diſplay of their erudition, however, could not impoſe long, but it has created a diſguſt, which nothing, but the taking up this ſubject on the principles laid down by the learned Lhwyd and recommended by the great Leibnitz, could remove. On ſuch principles, now adopted by Mr. Vallancey, languages may be traced to their true ſources; much light may be thrown on the antiquities of nations; and, a rule being found through this medium, for ſeparating the true from the falſe in old traditions, the ſum of our inquiries muſt center in knowledge. The era of the cultivation of letters may be aſcertained with ſome truth, among any people who have pretenſions to an early civilization; or at leaſt ſuch a ſtate of it, as may intitle their early hiſtory to any degree of attention.

Fortunately, no countries in Europe can furniſh better materials for the knowledge attainable from antient

antient languages, than our own iſles of Britain and Ireland. Allowing for the alterations unavoidably made by time, the Celtic, as antient a language as any in the world, is to this day vernacular in Wales. To that language the Greeks have been indebted for a great number of ſignificant terms, with which they have enriched their own; and the Romans have adopted a ſtill greater number. The introduction of it into Britain precedes all memory of things in Europe by letters; and it forms, ſo to ſpeak, a moſt authentic inſcription of itſelf, ſo legible to all nations, as to inform us with preciſion, that a people exiſt ſtill in a corner of Europe, who have ſurvived all revolutions, and have hitherto baffled every effort for ſubduing them to a dereliction of their own language.

Ireland planted originally by Britiſh colonies did not eſcape like the parent nation. The Gomeraeg, or primæval Celtic, was, no doubt, the current language in both iſles for many ages; but in proceſs of time, a new mixed language (wherein indeed the Celtic terms bore the greater part) prevailed over the old. A colony from the continent, partly Celts, partly Phœnicians invaded and ſubdued Ireland, long known before to the latter people, the firſt and beſt navigators in the world. The moſt antient Iriſh Fileas have recorded this revolution, their ſucceſſors, from a vanity common to all nations, have antedated it; but the tradition itſelf has been invariably preſerved through all ages; and we ſhall ſee how Mr. Vallancey

Vallancey in a few pages has furniſhed us with an irrefragable proof of its authenticity.

By collating the language in the old books of Ireland, with the Gomeraeg now ſpoke in Wales, that learned gentleman found a thorough identity of ſignification in a great number of words, but no analogy of ſyntax in the texture of thoſe tongues. From this difference of conſtruction, as well as the uſe of numberleſs words in Iriſh, not to be found in Welch books or gloſſaries; he diſcovered that he muſt ſeek further for the original of the former language. His knowledge of the oriental tongues opened a ſure path for him. On collating the Iriſh with the remains of the antient Punic now ſpoke in the iſland of Malta, and the ſpecimen of the ſame language preſerved in the Pœnulus of Plautus, he found ſo perfect an identity in the ſignification of many words, and ſuch an affinity of conſtruction in the phraſeology (ſo far as it could be picked from the corrupt copies of the Punic in Plantus) as ſhows to a demonſtration, that the colony who imported this mixed language into Ireland, had early intercourſes with the Phœnicians.

Here, as in other inſtances, the antient Iriſh traditions reflect back on Mr. Vallancey's diſcovery the illuſtration they receive from it. They term the Iriſh *a Berla Teibidhe*, i. e. a mixed language, and they denominate one of its dialects, *a Berla Fene*, or the Phœnian dialect; they inform us alſo that the anceſtors of the Iriſh nation (when on the Continent) learned the uſe of letters from a celebrated Phenius, from whom they took the patronimic

patronimic appellation of Pheni or Phenicians. Theſe traditions inform us further, that thoſe continental anceſtors ſojourned for ſeveral generations in Getluige (the Getulia of the Romans), and in this account, ſtripped of its poetical garb, we find the original of the name of Gaedhil, which with that of Pheni the Iriſh retained through all ages. They tell us moreover, that the Gaedils migrated from Getluige into Spain; and thence, after a conſiderable time, into Ireland.

Let theſe reports be paralleled with foreign traditions univerſally credited. The latter inform us that the Phenicians were the firſt inſtructors of the Europeans in navigation and letters; that one of their colonies planted in Carthage, aroſe to a mighty republic, conquered ſeveral maritime provinces in Lybia and Spain, and according to the policy of the early ages, tranſplanted conquered tribes from one country to another. Theſe truths confirm in a great degree, the certainty of the Iriſh traditions relatively to thoſe migrations from Lybia to Spain. They account for the introduction of letters by a great Phenius, as the Greeks account for their receiving in like manner the uſe of letters, from the brother of another great Phenix or Phenician, whom they call Cadmus. We find in this parallel of ancient reports, how theſe Getuli, or Lybian ſubjects of Carthage, mixed with Celtiberians or (*a*) Scytho-Celts in Spain; how

. . . . . the

(*a*) I ſay Scytho-Celts; as the Scythians, a roying people in all ages, have mixed with the northern Celts of Spain. Silius Italicus, a Spaniard by birth, confeſſes the fact, and

the

the two people incorporated into one; how under, Punic maſters, a mixed language was formed of the Celtic and Punic; and laſtly how in ſome convulſion of the Carthaginian government (at the time probably when the Chaldeans over-ran Spain, according to Joſephus and other ancients 590 years before our Saviour) a maritime people of Spain fled for ſhelter into Ireland, rather than ſubmit to ſervitude from new maſters.

Much darkneſs, no doubt, ſpreads itſelf over the earlier periods of Lybian and Spaniſh affairs; we do not pretend to diſpel the clouds which reſt upon them; it is enough if in confronting a few foreign with a few domeſtic traditions, we can catch at ſome truths, and thoſe we have mentioned are important. Through Mr. Vallancey's learned reſearches, we diſcover why a dialect of the Iriſh language is to this day called *Berla Fene* or the Phenician; and in our ancient traditions we have alſo a reaſon why the vulgar dialect is called *Gaedhlic*, inſtead of deriving it from a ſingle Gaedal whom fable has made the grandſon of Phenius: We diſcover alſo, the reaſon why the harſhneſs of the Celtic, ſo grating to the ears of the old Romans, has been laid aſide for an harmonious oriental cadence; and in fine, why the conſonantal roots of

the mixture of Celts and Scythians in ſeveral other countries, was the more common, from the little difference in their languages, till they have ſplit into various and diſcordant dialects in latter ages. I mention this only to introduce the tradition of the Iriſh wherein they pretend a deſcent from a famous Eber-Scot; that is, from an Iberian Scythian. It accounts for the name of Scots; as the Lybian names of Gaedhal and Phenius account for the appellations, Gaedhils and Pheni.

of moſt Celtic words have (for the ſake of etymology) been preſerved in writing, but ſuppreſſed in the pronunciation.

At what time ſoever a colony of lettered ſtrangers migrated from a Punic province into Ireland, we are not at liberty to pronounce gratuitouſly that they immediately degenerated into ſavages. The deſcription of ſome old Greek and Latin writers are of no great weight in this caſe. They received their intelligence from mariners, who had but juſt fidelity enough to aver that the climate of Ireland was of all others the moſt horrid; and philoſophy enough to report, that the natives knew no diſtinction of right and wrong. Such accounts equally true, may well go together, and dignify the pages of ſome modern declaimers.

That barbariſm however prevailed in Ireland in ſome periods cannot be denied; their tumultuary government infers it, though it never prevailed in kind or degree, equal to what might be naturally expected. Cuſtoms controlled their barbariſm, particularly the admirable eſtabliſhment of the order of *Fileas*, that is, of colleges of philoſophers, who devoted themſelves to abſtract ſtudies, who likewiſe had a right to vote in their national aſſemblies, and whoſe diſtricts in the heat of the moſt cruel domeſtic conflicts were left untouched, as ſo many ſacred places of refuge, for the cultivation of human knowledge. It was the cuſtom of all ages and times, while the ſhadow of monarchy remained in the kingdom. Their language likewiſe is a living proof of the influence and induſtry of the Fileas, as it includes the elegance,

elegance, the copiouſneſs, the variations, and converſions which none but a thinking and free people can uſe, and which barbarians can never attain to; as it contains alſo the ſigns of thoſe mixed modes and technical terms of art, which no enlightened people can want. It is eaſy to account for the preſervation of a language under ſuch regulations as I have here ſlightly mentioned. Through the want of ſuch regulations, letters have been deſpiſed in the Gaul now called France, though not abſolutely in the ancient Gaul, which extended from the Elbe to the pillars of Hercules; the like contempt of letters is remarkable of the Thracians in the very confines of Greece; and even among Chriſtian nations we find, from the fifth to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, ſuch a ſlight put upon letters in moſt European countries, that even the prime nobility knew not how to write or read. That Ireland fared better is certain. Its *Celto-Punic* could not be preſerved without the uſe of letters; however it might be ſomewhat altered in the courſe of ages, it could not certainly be adulterated, in an iſland ſeldom diſturbed by foreign invaſions till the ninth century.

This language included two principal dialects, the *Gnath Bherla* and the *Berla Fene*, i. e. the Common and the Phenian: the latter like the Mandarin language of the Chineſe, was known only to the learned: the ſcience of juriſprudence was committed to this dialect peculiarly, under the patronage of Concovar Mac Neſſe king of Ulſter, who reformed the order of the Fileas, and flouriſhed in the firſt century. This juriſprudence under

under the title of *Breatha Nimhe* or Judgments of Heaven, was cultivated with remarkable induſtry under Cormac O Quin king of Ireland in the third century, and it continued to be extended and commented upon under his ſucceſſors, till the end of the ninth century; many of thoſe tracts, and ſome of them of the earlieſt date, are ſtill extant in our Engliſh and Iriſh libraries; nor was the knowledge of the Phenian dialect neglected in Ireland, till the reign of Charles II.; the laſt ſchool for the ſtudy of it was kept in the county of Tipperary, under the profeſſorſhip of Boethius Mac Egan in the reign of Charles I. and it was in that ſeminary that the celebrated Duald Mac Firbis got his knowledge of it, and cloſed the line of Phenian Learning. Among ſeveral old tracts of Phenian juriſprudence, there are ſome tranſcripts of it in Mac Firbis's own hand writing; and I am well informed that they have lately been put into the hands of Mr. Vallancey, by Sir John Seabright, Bart. and that he is now engaged in collecting and tranſlating the ſmall fragments of theſe laws left in this country; a work which cannot fail of being as acceptable to the public as was the publication of the Welch laws of Howel Dha. Pity it is indeed, if not a reproach to the kingdom, that ſo valuable a part of ancient learning ſhould ſurvive the domeſtic confuſions of many centuries, and be loſt in our own peaceable times! The recovery of it is certainly one of the great deſiderata of the preſent age.

Why the earlieſt hiſtorical accounts of the Iriſh have been long deſpiſed by the learned, was partly owing to a natural notion, that ſo very remote a people

people could fare no better in the cultivation of literature than the other northern nations.

It was only on the publication of Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, that a trial was made whether their traditions, ſtripped of the poetical and marvellous, could bear the new light which that great man has poured on European antiquities. The trial ſucceeded beyond expectation, and I refer for the many proofs on this ſubject, to the learned author of the *Remains of Japheth*. I will only obſerve, by the way, how very remarkable it is, that Sir Iſaac Newton, whoſe work has been ſo ſeverely attacked by ſome critics, ſhould after his death, find props to ſome parts of his ſyſtem, in the very traditions which he judged of no value; and which, in truth, he never thought worthy of the ſmalleſt examination.

On the whole Mr. Vallancey has poured ſtill more day light on this ſubject; and his *Eſſay on the Iriſh Language* is highly worthy of the attention of the learned of Europe, to whom it is inſcribed. He has made his ſtudy of this and other ancient languages ſubſervient to the hiſtory of arts and civil ſociety in their earlieſt periods, and in the ſmall pamphlet before me, ſtrengthened his principal argument by ſhowing the conformity of the ancient Iriſh theology, with that of the Phenicians. What he has now publiſhed is, evidently, only a bare delineation of a future picture, on which he is (we may ſuppoſe) at preſent laying the ſtrongeſt colouring: and to the want of the lights he ſtruck out, we ſhould attribute ſome miſtakes of

Dr. Parſons and of the writer of the *Diſſertations on Iriſh Hiſtory*, in ſome matters they have advanced relatively to the Iriſh language.

To conclude; I do not advance that Mr. Vallancey has committed no miſtakes himſelf in ſome parts of his collation, particularly in compound words, and even in a few that are leſs complex; it is enough that he is right in the greater number, and that he hath the merit of exciting the learned of theſe iſlands to cultivate the fertile field he has thrown open to them.

I am, Sir,

Your humble ſervant,

CELTICUS.

FINIS.

Speedily will be Publiſhed,

Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis.

NUMBER IX.

CONTAINING,

THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

IRISHTOWN AND KILKENNY:

From ORIGINAL RECORDS and AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER-PLATES.

By EDWARD LEDWICH, L.L.B.

VICAR of AGHABOE in the QUEEN'S COUNTY, and SOCIET. ANTIQ. HIB. SOC.

A PLAN of the
CITY of KILKENNY
Perfected from the latest
Surveys & Observations
by Saml Byron,
Chorographer Approv'd by the
DUBLIN SOCIETY
Road from Callan
Road to Corke
Walkins Lough
WALKINS GREEN
St JAMES'S GREEN
Flood Street
NEW STREET
St Patricks Street
St Patricks Gate
St Patricks Burial Ground
St PATRICKS STREET
HIGH STREET
COAL MARKET
THE PARADE
The CASTLE
The BOWLING GREEN
St Johns Bridge
THE RIVER NORE
THE LAKE
THE COLLEGE PARK
The COLLEGE
St JOHNS ABBEY
FOOT BARRACK
Michaels Lane
Green's Bridge
Green Street
Bishops Palace
Vicar Street
Trovs Orchard
Bishops Hill
BOWLING GREEN
HORSE BARRACK
St FRANCIS ABBEY
BLACK ABBEY
Black Mills
Black Bridge
Bull Ring
IRISH TOWN
Dean Street
Chapel
The New Road
St CANICE CHURCH
Water Gate St
Seven Springs
Evans Lane
Shambles
Back Lane
St MARKS CHURCH
Tholsel
Pudding Lane
City Coal
Boltons Lane
Card Lane
The New Quay
County Coal
The Spa
Magdalens Gate
St MAGDALENS CHAPEL
The Pound
GALLOWS HILL
THE NEW CANAL
Castle Mills
Road to Castlecomer
A Scale of British Feet.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1000

Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis.

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DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY R. MARCHBANK,
PRINTER TO THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
AND SOLD BY L. L. FLIN, CASTLE-STREET.

M,DCC,LXXXI.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND

JOHN HOTHAM, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF OSSORY.

MY LORD,

IF the following pages contain any matters of curioſity or amuſement, they owe their publication ſolely to your lordſhip's patronage. Attached to the honour and proſperity of this kingdom, you receive favourably every attempt to improve its hiſtory and antiquities.

But, my Lord, the hiſtory of Kilkenny claims your protection on another account: the caſtle of that city with its dependencies was, above four hundred years ago, part of the ample poſſeſſions of a branch of your family.

The

The names of archbiſhop Hotham of Dublin, and of lord chancellor Hotham in England, are mentioned by the writers of both nations in the moſt reſpectful manner: as not only eminent for abilities, but as encouragers of literature; and the merits of this truly antient family at this day are too well known to be further inſiſted on here.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's dutiful

And obedient ſervant,

EDWARD LEDWICH.

DIRECTIONS for placing the PLATES.

Plan of Kilkenny	to face the title
Market Croſs - -	page 446
St. John's Abbey - -	531
The Dominican Abbey -	534

E R R A T A.

(Occaſioned by the Author's diſtance from the Preſs.)

Page 350, note (*b*) for *Corineus*, read *Corinen.*
—— 351, note (*e*) for 1085 *and*, read 1085 *et.*
—— 352, the notes (*h*) and (*i*) have changed places.
—— 358, line 32, for *at a long* read *at the long.*
—— 362, l. 17, for *Redburn* read *Rudburn.*
—— 365, l. 29, for *was* read *were.*
—— 377, l. 15, for *fourteen* read *twenty five.*
—— 381, l. 12, for *Coire* read *Coirc.*
—— 385, note (*l*), at the end add: "There is ſome confuſion in writers reſpecting the name of this benefactor, not now eaſily to be reconciled.
—— 388, l. 19, after *Sydney* place a comma.
—— 390, note (*k*), for *page* 21 read *page* 379.
—— 395, l. 2, for *was ſpent* read *were ſpent.*
—— 413, l. 14, for *breath* read *breaſts.*
—— 457, l. 1, for *modillions* read *medallions.*
—— 463, l. 2, for *infandu mœconjugi mrorem*, read *infandum conjugi mœrorem.*
—— 502, l. 11, for *this is* read *that is.*

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THE ANTIQUITIES OF IRISHTOWN AND KILKENNY.

SECT. I.

THE moſt probable ſyſtem of the colonization of this iſle is to be found in the (*a*) hiſtory of Mancheſter: it cuts off thoſe excentric wanderings of Keating, O Flaherty, and their followers; is ſimple and conſiſtent in its parts and conſtruction; and not deſtitute of internal and external evidence; and if certainty in ſuch matters was attainable, it ſeems to approach near it. Diſguſted with a perpetual round of incredible fictions, the diſgrace of our antient annals, the mind gladly repoſes in ſome ſober relation; and though it may be ſuppoſed that novelty has its influence on this occaſion, it will be found to be rational.

(*a*) Vol. 1. and the hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted.

This learned and ingenious antiquary informs us, that about three hundred and fifty years before the Chriſtian æra, the Britons, invaded and diſpoſſeſſed by the Belgæ from the continent, fled hither and firſt inhabited this iſland. That in two hundred and fifty years after, a ſecond migration and from the ſame cauſes, happened: the latter incorporated with the former, and both people were called by their countrymen who remained in Britain, Scuites and Scots, that is, wanderers or refugees.

That in ſubſequent ages, the Britiſh Belgæ, yielding to the Roman power under Veſpaſian, with the Durotriges and Damnonii, retreated to this kingdom, and were known by the names of Fir-bolg and Fir-damnon. He then proceeds to point out with as much preciſion as can be expected from the imperfect hints of ſurviving memorials, the ſtation and ſettlement of each colony. The central regions, particularly the King's and Queen's counties, with thoſe of Kilkenny and Tipperary, are aſſigned to the Scots: their capital towns were Rheba and Ibernia: the (*b*) latter ſituated to the eaſt of the river Shannon. This river is leſs than thirty miles from Kilkenny, and by placing Iriſh-town to the eaſtward of it, we are almoſt certain it was the antient Ibernia; at leaſt it approaches nearer the ſituation of the old Scottiſh capital than any other place to be found in the topography of thoſe parts. Had Mr. Whitaker been acquainted with the name of this town, as it is ſtill preſerved by

(*b*) Ibernia altera, ſita ad orientale Seni fluminis latus. Ricard. Corineus. cap. 8. §. 16.

by the natives, he would not have hefitated to pronounce on the identity of Ibernia and Irifhtown. It is called (*c*) Bally-gael-loch, literally the town of the Gael, or antient Irifh. The etymology of this compound carries us back to the remoteft times; it is purely Celtic, and expreffive of the high antiquity of the place.

The firft fettlement of the Gael feems to have been on the low ground, along the margin (*d*) of the Nore; the higher land, extending from the fite of the cathedral to the caftle, was covered with wood, and from this circumftance had a Celtic name, and was called Coil or Kyle-ken-uï, the wooded head or hill near the river, and by the natives (*e*) Cillcannigh or Kilkenny. From the record cited in the laft note we find, that there was a fmall village always, where Kilkenny now ftands, diftinct from Irifhtown, but of little confequence before the arrival of the Normans.

Harris (*f*) diflikes the preceding derivation, becaufe it overthrows the popular opinion, which deduces Kilkenny from St. Canice or Kenny, to

(*c*) Whitaker's genuine hiftory, fupra, pag. 113, who is copious on the Gael; och is a relative adjective.

(*d*) The Celtic nations were fond of fuch fituations: Ut fons, ut nemus, ut campus placuit, fays Tacitus, German. And Cæfar: plerumque fylvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates. Comment. lib. 6. Hence the names of fo many towns and villages ending in field, wood, borne and water. Cluver. Germ. Antiq. cap. 13. An obfervation extremely applicable to our prefent purpofe.

(*e*) Cillcannigh feu Kilkennia fuccenfa, annis 1085 and 1114. Colgan. Trias. pag. 633. In Mr. Pennant's tour in Wales, we find a Kilken of the fame import with ours. Pag. 411. Did it impend over a large river as our city does, it would have had the other addition to its name.

(*f*) Apud Ware's Antiquities, pag. 41.

whom the Cathedral there is dedicated. Uſher (*g*) alſo acquieſces in this vulgar and groundleſs notion. We have numberleſs inſtances of the monks, in dark ages, perſonifying rivers and places like the heathen mythologiſts. Thus they have made of the river Shannon or Senus (*h*), St. Senanus, and of the town of Down or Dunum, St. Dunus, and of Kilkenny, St. Kenny. In Wales (*i*) we find traces of the ſame practice; and Colgan's lives of the Iriſh ſaints will ſupply many ſimilar ones.

But according to the legend, Kilkenny got its name upon removing thither from Aghaboe the ſhrine of St. Canice, in the year 1200. Antecedent to this epoch, Kilkenny muſt have had ſome appellation; what it was we are not told; but we are certain it was Kilkenny, from what is already advanced, and of which the following is an additional proof. In the annals, at the end of the Engliſh edition of Ware, under the year 1192, being eight years before the removal of the ſhrine, it is recorded, that the Engliſh were ſettled in Kilkenny, and the foundation of the caſtle, ſtill remaining, was then laid. But the legend itſelf ſpeaks, more powerfully than any argument, the weakneſs and abſurdity of deriving from ſuch materials any hiſtoric fact.

" (*k*) This towne is named Kilkennie from an holie and learned abbat, called Kanicus, born in the

(*g*) Kilkennia—quod nomen eccleſiam, ſeu fanum Canici denotat. Primord. pag. 957.

(*h*) Lhuidii Auverſar. ſub. fin. Baxteri Gloſſar. pag. 272.

(*i*) Uſher, ſupra paſſim.

(*k*) Stanihurſt apud Hollinſhed, pag. 27. Cave remarks of theſe works: Certe nugis nugaciſſimis, fictis, ineptiſſimiſque

the countie of Kilkennie, or as it is in ſome bookes recorded, in Connaght. This prelat being in his ſuckling yeres foſtered through the providence of God with the milk of a cow, and baptized and biſhoped by one Luracus, thereto by God's eſpeciall appointment deputed, grew in tract of time to ſuch devotion and learning as he was reputed of all men to be, as well a mirrour of the one, as a paragon of the other; whereof he gave ſufficient conjecture in his minoritie. For being turned to the keepinge of ſheepe, and his fellow ſheepheards whollie yeildinge themſelves, like luſkiſh vagabonds, to ſlough and ſlugiſhneſſe, yet ſtill would he finde himſelf occupied in framing, with oſiars and twigs, little wooden churches, and in faſhining the furnitures thereto appertyninge. Being ſtept further in yeres he made his repair into England, when cloiſtering himſelf in an abbaie, whereof one named Doctus (Docus) was abbat, he was whollie wedded to his booke and to devotion. Wherin he continued ſo painfull and diligent, as beinge on a certaine time penning a ſerious matter, and not havinge drawne the fourthe vocale, the abbaie bell tingd to aſſemble the covent to ſome ſpirituall exerciſe, to which he ſo haſtened, as he left the letter ſemicirclewiſe unfiniſhed, untill he returned back to his booke. Soon after beinge promoted to eccleſiaſtical orders, he travelled by the conſent of his monks

miſque narrationibus refertiſſimum, quæ non ſine immenſo Chriſtianæ religionis ſcandalo legi, multo minus defendi poſſunt. Hiſt. Literar. Sec. 13. pag. 654. See Melch. Can. de locis theolog. lib. 11. cap. 16. Marian. de advent. S. Jacob. in Hiſpan. cap. 1. Si ſanctus Canacus nihil eſt, quod ſanè ſubeſt ſuſpicari, ſays Baxter, voce Macolicum.

monks to Rome; and in Italie he gave ſuch manifeſte proof of his piety, as to this daie, in ſome parts thereof, he is highlie renowned."

A. D. 1172. In ſome anonymous annals, in the poſſeſſion of Col. Vallancey, we find Donald O Brien, king of Thomond, this year proclaimed a hoſting to Kilkenny; he was joined by Connor Mac Raghry, and the forces of Weſt Connaught. The Galls or Normans hearing of this, retreated to Waterford, leaving the caſtle of Kilkenny. After their departure the town was demoliſhed, and the country waſted.

From this document we learn, as well as from Maurice Regan's account of the Engliſh invaſion, that as the Engliſh advanced in the reduction of the iſland, they ſecured their conqueſts by the (*l*) erection of ſtrong caſtles. Among many others at this time built, was this of Kilkenny, but by whom we have not been able to diſcover; but it was probably by Strongbow. On the arrival of Henry II. the eighteenth of October 1172, the Iriſh chieftains were intimidated; they ſubmitted and ſwore allegiance; but on his return to England the next year, they reſumed courage and univerſally rebelled. Hence in (*m*) other annals, under the year 1173, we are told, that Donald O Brien retracted his obedience to Henry, broke down the caſtle of Kilkenny, and deſtroyed the Engliſh ſettlements.

Notwith-

(*l*) See the date of ſome of thoſe in Hanmer's chronicle, pag. 161.

(*m*) Apud Archbiſhop King's Collections, pag. 587, in poſſeſſion of the Dublin Society.

Notwithſtanding theſe notices, ſtrong internal evidence of the prior antiquity of Iriſhtown, beſides that before adduced, exiſts in the (*n*) charter of William Marſhall, earl of Pembroke, to the Auguſtinian abbey of St. John in Kilkenny; it is dated A. D. 1220. In this mention is made of two bridges, four churches, with mills, orchards, eccleſiaſtical tythes and obventions in Iriſhtown; all marks of a long ſettled community; whereas the ſtate of the new town appears, from the ſame record, quite recent; we can diſcover in it but the earl's caſtle, one church, and a few burgage tenements.

Iriſhtown always enjoyed very antient preſcriptive rights: its holding markets and ſending members to parliament are among the other privileges of the corporation. A cloſe (*o*) roll of the 51 Edw. III. A. D. 1376, forbids the ſovereign, provoſt and commonalty of Kilkenny to obſtruct the ſale of victuals in the market of Iriſhtown, or within the croſs, under pretence of cuſtom for murage. And leaſt the ample grants made to Kilkenny might be interpreted ſo as to include Iriſhtown, the corporate body of the latter ſecured their antient rights by letters patent of the 15 Edw. IV. A. D. 1474. Theſe renew to them the privilege of holding a market; and provide, that a portrieve be choſen every 21ſt of September, or St. Matthew's day, and be ſworn into office on the 11th of October following, being St. Canice's day.

The

(*n*) Appendix I. (*o*) Appendix II.

The portrieve's priſon was at Troy's gate. Whenever the mayor of Kilkenny came within Watergate he dropt down the point of the city ſword, to ſhow he claimed no pre-eminence within the borough. Biſhop Cantwell obtained from (p) Hen. VII. a confirmation of the former grants to Iriſhtown. The ſtile of portrieve was afterwards changed; for on the 12th of October 1618, the following entry appears in the corporation books: "Thomas Tobin de Legerath, alias Leyrath, electus & juratus præpoſitus." But the old title was again revived, and continues at preſent. At the ſame time porters were appointed for Green's gate, Troy's gate, and Dean's gate to collect the tolls; and alſo appraiſers for meat. The portrieve was to ſeize proviſions brought to market, and expoſed to ſale on Sundays. A feaſt was ſolemnly held in the borough on St. John the Baptiſt's day. The adventurers and ſoldiers of 1649 deprived the corporation of a large eſtate, which they never recovered.

The (q) following notices are curious, and worth inſerting.

Corporation of Iriſhtown, 15th December, 1557.

By an order of the court made by the Portrieve, Burgeſſes and Commons of Iriſhtown, the 7th of January 1537, it was ordered, that the following

(p) Ware's Biſhops, pag. 415.

(q) They are to be found in the firſt volume of the Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis; but as many readers may not have that work, it was thought proper to give them here.

lowing prices ſhould be paid within the ſaid Corporation, for making the underneath particulars, viz.

A quilted dublet with a new faſhioned bellire to be cut, to be made for one ſhilling ſterling.

The pair (*r*) of gally-eniſhes to be made for eight pence.

The pair of new faſhioned cloſe hoſe, ſixpence.

The woman's Iriſh coat, double-ſeamed, being not wrought with ſilk, ſeven pence.

Every unce of ſilk to be wrought upon a woman's coat for nine pence.

The offender to forfeit two ſhillings.

Anno 1564. This year happened the great flood, when divers men and women were drowned, and St. John's bridge and caſtle fell down.

Anno 1565. A bye law in the corporation of Iriſhtown: that no inhabitant dwelling within the Mitre-land, being a free-man or woman, wear no apparel but after the Engliſh faſhion; nor no woman wear caps upon pain of forfeiture; and that every burgeſs ſhall go in his cloak, excepting W. Dullany, Teig Lowry, R. Wale.

At a Doer hundred held the 8th of January, 1579.

It is enacted by the aſſent of the Portrieve, Burgeſſes and Commons, that whereas great inconveniences have happened, and waſte and ſcarcity of vittles, to the great impoveriſhment of many of this corporation; who though their abilitie could not afford the like charge, yet pride and compariſon,

(*r*) Gall-enech is the Engliſhman's ſhirt.

pariſon, who ſhould make the greateſt cheer at churching of women after child-birth, hath been the utter undoing of many, as we daily ſee. For to avoid the like groſs enormity and harm, be it enacted, that no man or woman ſhall come hereafter to any chriſtening of children, or churching of women brought a bed, but the goſſobs for the time being, fathers and mothers, brothers and ſiſters, upon pain of forty ſhillings, Iriſh; to be levied and taken of the owner of the houſe, ſo making the feaſt toties quoties; to be divided, one half to the portrieve and ſpie. And it ſhall be lawful for any that ſpieth ſuch men and women coming from the feaſt, to take away their hats or rolls and mantles, and the ſame to forfeit; and to take away the midwife's roll and mantle, that goeth to warn the people. And the pariſh prieſt ſhall have none in his company but his clerk.

Serjeants appointed to execute this ſtatute,
Thomas Poore, Rowry Dooly.

Stanihurſt writing in 1577, ſays: "Kilkennie, the beſt uplandiſh town, or as they tearme it, the propereſt drie towne in Ireland, is parted into the highe towne, and the Iriſh towne. The Iriſh towne claimeth a corporation apart from the highe towne, wherby great factions grew dailie between the inhabitants. True it is, that the Iriſh towne is the ancienter, and was called the old Kilkennie, being under the biſhop his beck, as they are, or ought to be at this preſent."

The *Butts* are a part of Iriſhtown, where the inhabitants exerciſed themſelves at a long bow; to which they were obliged by ſeveral Iriſh ſtatutes.

That

That of the 5 Edw. IV. A. D. 1464, recites: "That every Engliſhman, and Iriſhman that dwell with Engliſhman, and ſpeak Engliſh, that be betwixt ſixteen and ſixty in age, ſhall have an Engliſh bow of his own length, and one fiſtmele, at the leaſt, betwixt the necks; with twelve ſhafts of the length of three quarters of the ſtandard; the bows of ewe, wyche-haſſel, awburne, or other reaſonable tree, according to their power; the ſhafts in the ſame manner, on pain of two pence per month." Again: "In every Engliſh town in this land, the conſtable ſhall ordain one pair of butts for ſhooting; and that every man between ſixteen and ſixty ſhall muſter at the butts, and ſhoot up and down, three times, every feaſt day, under pain of an half penny per day." The poetry of the times is full of theſe ideas.

(s) The butts are ſett, the ſhootings made,
And there will be great royaltie;
And I am ſworn into my bille,
Thither to bring my lord Percie.

The butts were ſet up near where the Butts croſs now ſtands. The pedeſtal and ſhaft of this croſs only now remain. Not far from the croſs was the Bull-ring, where our anceſtors diverted themſelves with another favourite amuſement.

(s) Percy's reliques, vol. 1. pag. 221.

SECT.

SECT. II.

IT is aſſerted in the (*t*) life of Hugh Rufus, ſecond biſhop of Oſſory, that he granted a great part of the city of Kilkenny to William Earl Marſhal, reſerving to himſelf and his ſucceſſors a chiefry of an ounce of gold. Notwithſtanding the authority now cited, there are certainly ſome miſtakes in this account. It ſuppoſes two things; either that the biſhop had a paramount right to the ſoil prior to the Engliſh invaſion, which however does not appear, or there was ſome diſtinct exemption in his favour when thoſe conquerors ſeized and colonized the country; which is equally deſtitute of foundation.

For Richard Strongbow had all his acquiſitions in Leinſter given in (*u*) perpetuity to him by Henry II. with the reſervation of the maritime towns. Theſe grants of his father were confirmed by king John to William Earl Marſhal, who married Iſabella, Strongbow's daughter. Both held Leinſter in capite, inveſted with, and exerciſing abſolute regal juriſdiction and prerogative. Was he not enfeoffed himſelf in this ample manner, William could never make the grants he did to St. John's priory; the (*w*) tenour of which expreſſes a ſuperiority but little favouring of epiſcopal derivation.

(*t*) Ware's Biſhops, pag. 403.

(*u*) Davis's hiſtorical Relations, pag. 61.

(*w*) Habeant et teneant omnes donationes, conceſſiones et confirmationes prædictas, in liberam, puram et perpetuam elymoſinam. Appendix I.

tion. Stanihurſt indeed has ſomething which ſeems to countenance what is here conteſted: "The highe towne was builded by the Engliſh after the conqueſt, and had a parcel of the Iriſhtowne therto united by the biſhop his grant, made unto the founders upon their earneſt requeſt." From the inaccurate and unſupported manner in which this tradition (for it is no more) is expreſſed, we may rank it with thoſe numerous monkiſh fictions, that aim at exalting the ſpiritual above the civil power.

The original charter of incorporation given by William Earl Marſhall probably does not exiſt: Cox (*x*) ſays it was granted in 1223; but an exemplification of it appears in an inſpeximus of the 3 Edw. III. A. D. 1328. It (*y*) recites, that the earl who was lord of all Leinſter, had in his life time granted to the ſovereign, burgeſſes and commonalty of Kilkenny, for the time being, various liberties and

(*x*) Hiſt. of Ireland. Hanmer ſays it was dated the ſixth of April, and witneſſed by Thomas Fitz Antony, Walter Purcell, William Grace, Haman Grace, Amnar Grace and others. Chronicle, pag. 173. The Walſhes and Cantwells came over with Fitz Stephen, and ſettled about Kilkenny.

(*y*) Edvardus Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, omnibus ballivis et miniſtris omnium villarum et villatorum Lageniæ, et cæteris quibuſcunque de iiſdem partibus, ſalutem. Supplicavit nobis ſuperior et communitas de Kilkenny, quod cum Willielmus, nuper comes mareſcallus et Pembrochiæ (tempore quo idem comes extiterat dominus totius terræ Lageniæ) conceſſerit burgenſibus et communitati villæ prædictæ, qui pro tempore fuerint, diverſas libertates, inter quas, videlicet, quo ipſo in perpetuum per totam Lageniam terram et poteſtatem ſuam, tam in villa quam alibi, eſſent quieti de theulonio, laſtagio, pontagio, et de omnibus aliis conſuetudinibus quibuſcunque; quam quidem chartam inſpeximus, &c. teſte Johanne Darcy, juſticiario noſtro Hiberniæ, apud Kilkenny, 8 die Julii, annoque regni noſtri tertio. Per billam ipſius juſticiarii. Hanmer ſupra.

and immunities, which they were to enjoy for ever throughout Leinſter, as well as in the town. Particularly, that they ſhould be free from toll, laſtage, or payment for weighing goods, from pontage and all other cuſtoms whatſoever. Theſe exemptions were powerful inducements for people to ſettle in a city ſo much favoured; and the earl by thus depriving himſelf of conſiderable revenues, evinced his wiſhes to aggrandize it. No wonder if we ſhall find it increaſing rapidly in extent, in population and riches; and ſelected by the great aſſemblies of the nation, above any other place, for its happy temperature, its ample conveniences and undiſturbed ſecurity, and as the propereſt place for holding their meetings. This excellent nobleman, equally accompliſhed in the arts of peace and war, Redburn (z) thus characterizes in his epitaph;

Sum quem Saturnum ſibi ſenſit Hibernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

In 1195, a ſpacious and noble caſtle was begun in Kilkenny on the ſite of that deſtroyed by the Iriſh in 1173. The ſituation, in a military view was moſt eligible; the ground was originally a conoid; the elliptical ſide abrupt and precipitous, with the rapid Nore running at its baſe; there the natural rampart was faced with a wall of ſolid maſonry, forty feet high; the other parts were defended by baſtions, courtins, towers and outworks; and on the ſummit the caſtle was erected. The area thus incloſed, beſides furniſhing accommodations for the earl and his domeſtics, contained caſerns

(z) Cambden in Pembrokeſhire.

caſerns for a ſtrong garriſon with their equipments. The earl, in his charter to St. John's priory, provides, that if he be abſent the monks of that houſe ſhall ſerve his caſtle-chapel, and receive the emoluments from thence ariſing; but if he be reſident, then his own domeſtic chaplains ſhall attend. In the ſame record, his barns lying beyond the bridge, are mentioned, with every other circumſtance indicating a regular houſhold and court.

Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloceſter and Hereford, marrying Iſabella, one of the daughters and coheireſſes of William, earl marſhal, received as her dower the county of Kilkenny. He extended the privileges of the corporation by the following charter recited (*a*) by Hanmer. "To our ſeneſchal of Kilkenny, and to our treaſurer of the ſame, greeting. Know ye, that for the common profit of the town of Kilkenny, of our ſpecial favour, we have granted to our loving burgeſſes of the ſaid town, that none ſhall ſell victuals there, but ſuch as ſhall be prized by the officers of ſaid town, &c." Priſage, by (*b*) Blackſtone, is mentioned as equivalent to butlerage, or a duty on wine; beſides this, it had a more general acceptation, and meant thoſe duties which every Caſtellan had a right to receive for commodities brought for ſale to fairs and markets within the precincts of his caſtle. Of this, our antient regal charters, our old hiſtorians and the monaſticon ſupply many proofs. Theſe duties the earl of Gloceſter transferred to the citizens.

By

(*a*) Pag. 178.
(*b*) Commentaries, vol. 1. pag. 314.

By marriage, Kilkenny came into the antient and noble family of Le Deſpencer; Hugh Le Deſpencer marrying Eleanor, ſiſter and coheir of Gilbert, earl of Gloceſter. Hugh le Deſpenſer, a deſcendant of the preceding, married Alice, daughter of Sir John de Hothum, lord of Hothum in Yorkſhire, and poſſeſſed of other great properties there and in different counties in (*c*) England, conferred on his anceſtor by the conqueror, immediately after the battle of Haſtings. This Hugh (*d*) by deeds dated the fourth and twelfth of September, 1391, being the 15 Rich. II. conveyed the caſtle of Kilkenny and its (*e*) dependencies to James, earl of Ormond; which earl, in 1386, had built the caſtle of Dunfert (now called Danesfort) mentioned in the laſt note.

Among the families attached to the earl marſhal, and early planted in Kilkenny, that of Grace ſeems to have been very reſpectable. William, Haman and

(*c*) In the 8 Edw. II. John de Hothum had ſummons to parliament; and in the following reign, he had charters of free warren granted him, for his lordſhips of Hothum, Crammewyke and Byrſay in the county of York; and for his manors of Scoreſburg, Wynthorp, Lokynton and Cruncewyke in the ſaid county; for his manor of Bondby in Lincolnſhire, and Fyfehide in Eſſex. Dugdale's Baronage, pag 91. vol. 2. From this family the preſent lord biſhop of Oſſory is deſcended.

(*d*) Carte's life of Ormond, introduction, pag. 36.

(*e*) Theſe comprehended; the caſtle of Kilkenny, with the mills; the borough of Roſbargon, with the mills; the manors of Dunfert and Kildermoy; the ſerjeancy of Overk; all his tenements in Kallan le Hill; £.33 15*s.* 3*d.* in Kallan and the advowſon of the church; with all the lands, tenements, advowſons and knight's fees in Noverk, Roſbargon, Logheran, Killagh, Roſinan, Illid, Knoctofre, the new town of Jerpoint, Killamery, Ardereſton, Lyſdonfy, Kilfeckamaduff and Thollenabroge. Carte ſupra.

and Amnar Grace ſubſcribe as witneſſes his charter to the city; and three years before, William and Haman atteſt his charter to St. John's. William erected a caſtle in the city; this old building, ſome years ago, was pulled down, and a court-houſe and priſon, erected on its ſite at the expence of the county; here are held the aſſizes and ſeſſions for the county; it is in Coal-market, and ſtill called Grace's old caſtle. The earl gave them large poſſeſſions, and an extenſive tract of country, known by the name of Grace's pariſh. Haman Grace's poſterity ſettled in the county *(f)* of Wexford, and other branches *(g)* at Ballylinch, at Carney and Leighan in the county of Tipperary. In 1560, one of them was baron of Courtiſtown, and lies interred in the cathedral.

The internal police of Kilkenny being fixed on a ſolid baſis by the preceding grants and charters, and the proſperity of its citizens ſecured and extended by many privileges and immunities, it ſoon attained a prime eminence among the central towns of the kingdom. In 1294, Richard, *(h)* earl of Ulſter was taken priſoner by lord John Fitz Thomas, and kept in hold until the feaſt of pope Gregory; he was then ſet at liberty by the king's council aſſembled in parliament at Kilkenny. The jealouſies and competitions among the Iriſh nobility perpetually excited violent feuds and domeſtic diſſentions. The ruling powers of government was weak, and inadequate to reſtrain their enormities

(f) Annals at the end of Cambden, under the year 1305.
(g) Hibern. Dominic. pag. 270.
(h) Annals ſupra.

and exceſſes. Lord Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald laying claim to ſome lands belonging to the earl of Ulſter in Connaught, endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of them by an armed force: the earl oppoſed him, but with ill ſucceſs, for he was taken and impriſoned, as above hinted, in the barons ſtrong caſtle of Ley, on the banks of the Barrow, in the Queen's county.

Mr. Selden and Mr. Prynne aſſert that parliaments did not exiſt at the time here mentioned, but the contrary ſeems well eſtabliſhed from (*i*) what others have collected on this ſubject. They were, as to conſtituent members, not numerous; becauſe the great lords were enfeoffed of the whole kingdom; alienations were then unknown, and the boroughs but few, ſo that the repreſentatives were neceſſarily confined to a ſmall number; and ſuch aſſemblies were in reality rather Poliſh diets than Britiſh parliaments. Multitudes of retainers followed their lords to thoſe meetings; turbulence and faction diſturbed their deliberations, and the public were rather amuſed than benefitted by them; however, the magnificence, prodigality and numbers diſplayed on thoſe occaſions could not but very much enrich the inhabitants of Kilkenny.

The next parliament held in Kilkenny was in the 3 Edw. II. 1309; its acts are to be found in the ſeveral (*k*) editions of our ſtatutes; but there are others ſtill extant in the black book of Chriſt church,

(*i*) Ware's Antiquities by Harris, vol. 1. pag. 79, et ſeq.

(*k*) Statutes of Ireland by Bolton, Dublin 1621. Veſey's Statutes. Harris's MSS. penes Societ. Dublin, vol. 2. pag. 342.

church, Dublin, and given to the public by (*l*) Dr. Leland. One clauſe ordains, "that the Engliſh here ſhall conform in garb and in the cut of their hair to the faſhion of their countrymen in England; whoever affected that of the Iriſh was to be treated as ſuch; their lands and chattles to be ſeized and their perſons impriſoned." Here is clearly diſcloſed the beginning degeneracy of the Britiſh colonies. Unreſtrained by the wholeſome ſeverity of wiſe laws, and plunged in a perpetual round of violence and rapine, they ſoon loſt that manlineſs of ſentiment and propriety of conduct which they brought with them into the iſland; they inſenſibly contracted a familiarity with, and a fondneſs for the diſſipated manners of the natives; they adopted their vices, and degenerated ſo far as to aſſume their dreſs, and looked on the long glibbs of this uncivilized people as their boaſt and ornament.

Sir John Wogan, a Welſhman, animated with a love of antient Britiſh virtue, beheld with grief and indignation the falling off of his countrymen, and exerted his utmoſt efforts to prevent the contagion from ſpreading. To give the higheſt ſanction to theſe laws, and to impreſs them on the people, Maurice Maccarwell, archbiſhop of Caſhel, aſſiſted by other prelates, denounced anathemas againſt the infringers of them in the cathedral church of St. Canice, in the preſence of Wogan, and many of the nobility. In 1317, lord Roger Mortimer, juſticiary of Ireland, and the Iriſh nobility met at

(*l*) Hiſt. of Ireland, vol. 1. pag. 253, 254. Compare Ware's Biſhops, pag. 476. where we may obſerve great inaccuracy in dates.

Kilkenny to conſider how they might oppoſe Edward Bruce.

The annals before quoted, under the year 1326, tell us of a parliament held in Kilkenny at Whitſontide, at which the earl of Ulſter and other lords aſſiſted, who were ſumptuouſly entertained by the ſaid earl; but that he ſoon after died. Cox (*m*) ſays it doth not appear what was then done, except ordering five thouſand quarters of wheat into Aquitain for the king's uſe. To throw ſome light on the obſcurity of the annaliſt we may obſerve, that Edward Bruce, towards the end of Edward the Second's reign, headed the Scottiſh invaſion of this kingdom, and ſpread terror and deſolation wherever he came; the northern and middle counties were over-ran, and he penetrated through (*n*) Oſſory in his way to Munſter; private animoſities were forgotten in the general diſtreſs, and the rancour of rivalry gave way to the more imminent terrors of public danger; foreign enemies and domeſtic inſurrections called for unanimity and vigorous exertions. A ſubjugation to Scottiſh power or Iriſh tyranny was equally alarming to, and dreaded by the Engliſh; if the latter ſucceeded, diſpoſſeſſion and expulſion were the gentleſt treatment to be expected; if the former, every thing was to be dreaded from the cruelty of ferocious conquerors. Connected by one common intereſt, and eager to make one effort to check the career of a triumphant enemy, the Engliſh lords aſſembled at Kilkenny, where an army

(*m*) Hiſt. of Ireland, vol. I.

(*n*) Some veſtiges of this invaſion yet remain. Near Aghaboe is an old fortification, vulgarly called Scotſrath, but properly Scottiſwaith, or the Scots walls or fortreſs.

army of thirty thouſand men was collected, and a prodigious number of irregulars, who cluſtered together on the general alarm. The earl of Ulſter, though married to the ſiſter of Robert, king of Scotland, ſaw the danger that awaited him if his relation was victorious; and therefore came to the parliament; was the foremoſt in urging vigorous meaſures, and made his hoſpitality the inſtrument of his patriotiſm.

The next year, 1327, preſents us with relations of broils among the nobility. Lord Arnold Poer, lord Maurice Fitz Thomas and lord Maurice Butler, with armed forces, plundered and waſted each others lands. The earl of Kildare, then lord juſtice, and others of the king's council, at a parliament in Kilkenny, appointed a day for all parties to anſwer theſe outrages. Butler and Fitz Thomas demanded the king's charter of peace, and the council took until the month of Eaſter to conſider of it.

The following year (*o*) gives a frightful picture of the effects of ſuperſtition and eccleſiaſtical tyranny. Take the narration in the words of the author: "Richard Ledrede, biſhop of Oſſory, cited dame Alice Ketyll to anſwer for her heretical opinions, and forced her to appear in perſon before him; and being examined for ſorcery, it was found, that ſhe had uſed it. Among other inſtances this was diſcovered, that a certain ſpirit (Dæmon Incubus) called Robin Artyſſon, lay with her, and that ſhe offered nine red cocks at a certain ſtone bridge where four highways met; alſo, that ſhe ſwept

(*o*) Cambden ſays it was in 1323, but Prynne in 1328.

ſwept the ſtreets of Kilkenny with beeſoms, between complin and corfew; and in ſweeping the filth towards the houſe of William Utlaw her ſon, ſhe was heard to wiſh by way of conjuring—Let all the wealth of Kilkenny flow to this houſe."

"The accomplices of this Alice, in theſe wretched practices, were Penel of Meth, and Baſilia the daughter of this Penel. Alice was found guilty, and fined by the biſhop, and forced to abjure her ſorcery and witchcraft; but being again convicted of the ſame practices, ſhe made her eſcape with the ſaid Baſilia; but Penel was burnt at Kilkenny, and at her death declared, that William abovefaid deſerved death as well as ſhe, and that for a year and a day he wore the devil's girdle about his bare body."

"Hereupon the ſaid biſhop ordered William to be apprehended and impriſoned in the caſtle of Kilkenny for eight or nine weeks; and gave orders, that two men ſhould attend him, but that they ſhould not eat or drink with him, and that they ſhould not ſpeak to him above once a day. At length he was ſet at liberty by the help of the lord Arnold Poer, ſeneſchal of the county of Kilkenny; and he gave a great ſum of money to the ſaid Arnold to impriſon the biſhop; accordingly he kept the biſhop in priſon about three months."

"Among the goods of Alice, they found a wafer (hoſtia) with the devil's name upon it, and a certain box of ointment, with which ſhe uſed to daub a certain piece of wood, called a cowitree, after which ſhe and her accomplices rid upon it round the world, without hurt or hindrance. Theſe things

things being notorious, Alice was cited again to appear at Dublin before the dean of St. Patrick's, having ſome hopes of favour given her. She made her appearance and demanded a day to anſwer, having given ſufficient bail as was thought; but ſhe appeared not, for by the advice of her ſon and others unknown, ſhe hid herſelf in a certain village until the wind would ſerve for England, and then ſhe ſailed over; but it is not known whither ſhe went."

"William Utlaw being found on the trial and confeſſion of Penel (who was condemned to be burnt) to have been conſenting to his mother in her ſorcery and witchcraft, the biſhop cauſed him to be arreſted by the king's writ, and put in priſon; yet he was ſet at liberty again by the interceſſion of the lords, upon condition, that he ſhould cover St. Mary's church in Kilkenny with lead, and do other acts of charity within a certain day; and that if he did not perform them punctually, he ſhould be in the ſame ſtate as when firſt taken by the king's writ." Further particulars may be ſeen in Ware's life of biſhop Ledred.

A. D. 1329. (p) The lord Thomas Botiller marched from Kilkenny with a great army into the country of (q) Ardnorwith; where he fought with the lord Thomas and William Mageoghagan, and was there killed, to the great loſs of Ireland, and with him the lord John de Ledewich, Roger and Thomas Ledewich.

In

(p) Cambden's Annals.
(q) Ardnurcher in the county of Weſtmeath.

In 1330, Roger Utlaw, prior of Kilmainham, and lieutenant of the kingdom under Darcy, held a parliament in Kilkenny, in which were preſent Alexander archbiſhop of Dublin, James earl of Ormond, Walter Bermingham and Walter de Burgo. An army was collected, and it marched to drive Brien O Brien out of Urkuffs near Caſhel. This O Brien was chieftain of Thomond, and was appointed leader of a violent inſurrection of the natives at this time.

Anthony Lucy (*r*) in 1331, appointed a parliament to meet at Dublin on the Uta's of St. John the baptiſt. Many of the principal nobility abſented themſelves; a practice but too common. The paucity of members obliged Lucy to adjourn to Kilkenny. In the interim, Lucy had either threatened the abſentees on the ſcore of their allegiance, or had abſolutely taken ſome ſteps to vindicate his own and his maſter's authority; for we find that the lord Thomas Fitz Maurice and the earl of Kildare appeared, and ſubmitted to the king's grace and mercy; they were pardoned, but the laſt was obliged to ſwear on the holy evangeliſts and the relics of the ſaints to obſerve his allegiance and to keep the peace. Deſmond, Mandeville, Walter de Burgo and his brother, William and Walter Bermingham were ſeized, and William Bermingham executed for ſecretly favouring the Iriſh rebels.

The city, in 1334, had certain (*s*) tolls granted it, for pavage, for ſeven years.

The annals of Ireland, under the year 1341, inform us of the precarious ſtate of the kingdom, and

(*r*) Cox, pag. 111. (*s*) Appendix III.

and the danger of its being diſſevered from England. (*t*) The king revoked all thoſe gifts and grants that by him or his father had been conferred, by any means, upon any perſons whatſoever in Ireland, were they liberties, lands or other goods. For which revocation great diſcontent and diſpleaſure aroſe in the land of Ireland, which was at the point to be loſt for ever out of the king of England's hands. Hereupon, by the king's council, there was ordained a general parliament in the month of October; before which time there never was known ſo notable a diviſion between thoſe that were Engliſh by birth and Engliſh by blood.

The mayors of the king's cities in the ſame land, together with all the better ſort of the nobility and gentry, with one conſent, upon mature deliberation and council had, among other their concluſions, decreed and appointed a common parliament at Kilkenny in November, to the utility and profit of both the king and the land, without aſking any council at all of Sir John Morris, the lord juſtice, or the king's officers aforeſaid in that behalf; neither the lord juſtice or the king's miniſters in any wiſe preſumed to come to the ſame parliament in Kilkenny.

The elders therefore of the land, together with the antients and mayors of the cities agreed and ordained, as touching ſolemn ambaſſadors to be ſent with all ſpeed to the king of England, and to complain of his miniſters in Ireland, as touching their unequal and unjuſt regiment of the ſame; and

(*t*) Prynne on the 4th inſtitute.

and that from thenceforth they neither could, nor would endure the realm of Ireland to be ruled by his miniſters, as it had wont to be; and particularly they made complaint of the aforeſaid miniſters by way of theſe queſtions.

Imprimis, how a land full of wars could be governed by him that was unſkillful in war?

Secondly, how a miniſter or officer of the king ſhould in a ſhort time grow to ſo much wealth?

Thirdly, how it came to paſs, that the king was never the richer for Ireland?

The title of theſe petitions, with the king's anſwers, appears thus in a cloſe roll of the 16 Edw. III:

" Les peticions quenſeunt feurent baillez a noſtre ſeigneur le roy de France et Dengleterre, par frere Johan Larch, priour del hoſpital ſeint Johan de Jeruſalem en Irlande, et Mons. Thomas Wogan envoiez au roy en meſſage, par les prelatz, countes, barons et la commune de la terre Dirlaunde, ove autres articles queur le roy par laviſement de ſon conſeil ad ordeine. Que les peticions feurent diligealment examinez et reſponduz par le conſeil de roy, et les reſponſes eſcriptes ſeveralment apres cheſcun petition. Et puis le roy oyz et etendutz les dites peticions et reſponſes ſi ſacorda, et commanda que les dites reſponſes ove les dites articles feiſent tenus et meintenuz en touz pointz ſur les peines contenuz en ycelles."

The petitioners complained of the mal-adminiſtration of the governors and other officers; but the capital grievance was the reſumption of their lands. The king's anſwers were mild and ſatisfactory, and a ſtorm, that portended the convulſion and diſunion of

of the kingdom, blew over, without any material injury but the alarm it created.

(*u*) At a parliament held in Kilkenny in 1347, it was agreed to grant a ſubſidy for the Iriſh wars, of two ſhillings for every carrucate of land, and of two ſhillings in the pound to be paid by every perſon whoſe fortune amounted to ſix pounds. (*w*) Ralph Kelly, archbiſhop of Caſhel, conceiving this to be an infringement of the immunities of the church, ſummoned his ſuffragans and clergy to meet at Tipperary to deliberate on this new law; when they decreed it unlawful as to them; that every beneficed clergyman ſubmitting to it, and contributing to the ſubſidy, ſhould be rendered incapable of promotion within the province. This act did not go unnoticed; an information, at the ſuit of the king, was exhibited againſt the archbiſhop, and he was mulcted in the ſum of a thouſand pounds.

In (*x*) 1349, the county of Kilkenny raiſed twelve horſes and men, both completely covered with mail, theſe were heavy cavalry, at twelve pence a day: ſixty hobellers, or light horſe, at four pence a day; and two hundred infantry at three farthings a day, amounting in the whole to two hundred and ſeventy-two men. For ſupport of theſe a ſubſidy was granted and levied.

In 1356, Sir Thomas Rokeby (*y*), lord juſtice, convened a parliament to Kilkenny, wherein many good

(*u*) Leland, vol. 1. pag. 310.
(*w*) Ware's Biſhops, pag. 478.
(*x*) Cox, pag. 124.
(*y*) Appendix IV.

good laws paſſed for ſettling the internal government of the kingdom, and reclaiming the degenerate Engliſh. And in 1367, the celebrated ſtatute of Kilkenny was enacted by a parliament in that city, held before Lionel duke of Clarence. This aſſembly was the moſt ſplendid and numerous that ever before met here on ſuch an occaſion. (z) Beſides domeſtic regulations, the principal object of this famous law was, to prevent the Engliſh from degenerating into Iriſh; and therefore every intercourſe between them was interdicted; the Brehon law was forbidden, and that of England alone allowed. It is remarkable, that this ſtatute annexes the higheſt (*a*) penalties to the adoption of the Iriſh apparel, which certainly was an inferiour ſpecies of criminality, and could ariſe only from an inordinate predilection of the Engliſh in favour of their own dreſs, which is thus deſcribed: "(*b*) The commons were beſotted in exceſs of apparel, in wide ſurcoats reaching to their loins; ſome in a garment reaching to their heels, cloſe before and ſtrutting out on the ſides, ſo that on the back they make men ſeem women, and this they call by a ridiculous name, *gown*; their hoods are little, tied under the chin, and buttoned like the women's; their lirripipes reach to their heels, all jagged; they have

(z) Leland ſupra gives a ſummary of this ſtatute, to which we refer the reader.

(*a*) The biſhops of Dublin, Caſhel, Tuam, Liſmore, Waterford, Oſſory, Killaloe, Leighlin and Cloyne were preſent, and fulminated anathemas againſt the tranſgreſſors of this law.

(*b*) The author of Eulogium apud Cambden's remains, pag. 20. See this extract explained in Strutt's Antiquities, vol. 2. pag. 14, &c.

have another weed of ſilk which they call a paltock; their hoſe are pied, or of two colours or more, with latchets, which they call harlots, and tie to their paltocks without any breeches; their girdles are of gold and ſilver, ſome worth twenty marks; their ſhoes and pattens are ſnouted and peeked more than a finger long, crooking upwards, which they call crackowes, reſembling the devil's claws, which are faſtened to the knees with chains of gold and ſilver."

Thus gaudily attired, we need not wonder if the Engliſh beheld the Iriſh mantles, their trowſers, glibbs, crommeals, their barreds and brogues, not only with contempt but abhorrence; but when they conſidered the fourteen yards of yellow linen worn by the natives, by way of ſhirts and ſmocks, they execrated ſuch anti-chriſtian cuſtoms, and conceived it impoſſible for a ſingle good quality to ſubſiſt under ſuch clothing.

A. D. 1365. By (*c*) a deed dated the 40 Edw. III. Adam Cantwell grants to Robert le Marchal and Iſabella Cantwell his wife, all his meſſuages, rents and tenements in his holdings in Ireſton (Iriſhtown), in the Green near Kilkenny. The witneſſes are, Thomas Lynan, provoſt of Iriſhtown, and others.

At a parliament held in (*d*) Kilkenny in 1370, a ſubſidy of three thouſand pounds was granted for the Iriſh wars, and in a ſubſequent ſeſſion two thouſand more. On the fourth of May, 1374 (*e*), Sir William Windſor, lord lieutenant, was ſworn into

(*c*) King's Collect. pag. 212.
(*d*) Clauſ. 47 Edw. III. memb. 3.
(*e*) Cox, pag. 131.

into the government, in Kilkenny. He undertook the charge of the kingdom for the annual ſum of £.11213 6s. 8d. and obtained an order from the king and council, that abſentees ſhould repair home, or find ſufficient men in their room to defend their eſtates.

The next parliament in Kilkenny was in the year 1376, for the purpoſe of granting the king a ſubſidy for his foreign wars; but this not proving effectual, writs were iſſued in the 49th and 50th of Edw. III. for ſending repreſentatives to England, from each county and town. That to the county of Kilkenny is thus: (f) "Conſimile breve dirigitur ſeneſcallo libertatis Kilkenniæ et vicecomiti croceæ ibidem, ſub eadem data. Tenor retorni brevis prædicti ſequitur in hæc verba: Alexander epiſcopus Oſſorienſis, et Galfridus Forſtal, electi ſunt per ſeneſcallum libertatis Kilkenniæ et vicecomitem croceæ ibidem, ac magnates et communes ejuſdem comitatûs." But this return being of one eccleſiaſtical perſon, contrary to the king's orders, and the county giving no powers to aſſent to a ſubſidy, or the impoſition of taxes, a new writ was ſent, and William Cotterell of Kenlis or Kells was joined with Forſtal. Here the ſeneſchal of the county and the ſheriff of the croſs or church-lands made the return; who theſe officers were will beſt appear from the words of Sir John Davis. "Theſe abſolute palatines (ſpeaking of the nobility) who had whole counties, made barons and knights, did exerciſe high juſtice in all points within their territories; erected courts for criminal and civil cauſes and

(f) Leland, vol. 1. appendix.

and for their own revenues, in the ſame form as the king's courts were eſtabliſhed in Dublin; made their own judges, ſeneſchals, ſheriffs, coroners and eſcheators. So the king's writ did not run in thoſe counties, but only in the church-lands belonging to the ſame, which were called the Croſs, wherein the king made a ſheriff; and ſo in each of theſe counties palatines there were two ſheriffs, one of the Liberty and another of the Croſs."

Let us now attend the writ to the city: "Conſimile breve dirigitur ſuperiori et præpoſito villæ de Kilkenny, &c. And the return was: Robertus Flode et Johannes Ledred electi ſunt per ſuperiorem, præpoſitum et burgenſes villæ Kilkenniæ, ad tranſfretandum verſus dominum regem in Anglia, &c."

Here the writ expreſsly mentions the officers of the corporation to be the ſovereign and provoſt. The powers of each were antiently diſtinct; the firſt (g) was judge, in the laſt reſort, of matters within his jurisdiction; he defended the rights of the city and its inhabitants, and executed other official acts. The provoſt was an inferior judge; he inſpected the markets and farmed the tolls. Kilkenny, in this record is called villa, a town; at this time, 1376, there were but four cities in Ireland, Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Limerick; and five towns, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Roſs, Wexford and Youghall; nor doth it appear from this document, that the repreſentatives exceeded one hundred, which, conſidering the narrowneſs of the pale, were ſufficient for the Engliſh coloniſts.

The

(g) Du Cange, voce præpoſitus.

The year before, that is in 1375, (*h*) letters patent iſſued, granting to the corporation, for the ſpace of ſeven years, very conſiderable tolls, for the repairs of the walls, bridges and pavements belonging to it; they were drawn up in Kilkenny, as the date of them proves; and as they ſeem to include the whole trade of the city at this time, it may be pleaſing to the inquiſitive to take notice of a few curious particulars. We ſhall arrange them under the following heads:

MEASURES AND WEIGHTS.

The Cranocus, or (*i*) Cronnog in Iriſh, was a baſket or hamper for holding corn, lined with the ſkin of a beaſt, and ſuppoſed to hold the produce of ſeventeen ſheaves of corn, and to be equal to a Briſtol barrel. This was a remnant of remote ages, and an effort of unpoliſhed ſociety towards a juſt determination of their rights. A ſtandard for meaſuring different kinds of grain, and thereby eſtimating their value in permutation, would naturally be among the firſt contrivances of mankind, and a baſket of twigs lined with a ſkin was the moſt obvious and ready expedient for this purpoſe. Such is the attachment of rude people to their antient cuſtoms and manners, that it is after a long lapſe of years they can be induced to lay them aſide, and adopt thoſe that are more convenient and uſeful. From what is now ſaid, we are not to conclude, that the citizens of Kilkenny were in a more uncivilized ſtate than their contemporaries; they

(*h*) Appendix V. (*i*) Ware's Antiq. pag. 223.

they were equal to any of them in the luxuries of living and dreſs.

The dolium, chane and lagena were uncertain meaſures, and the weights uſed were pounds and ſtones.

Summagium, or ſagmegium, or ſauma (*k*) ſeems to have been a car or cart load, and in this record is contradiſtinguiſhed from onus, which was an horſe load.

GRAIN.

Moſt ſpecies are enumerated, as wheat, malt, corcyr, coire or oats, and ſymal, ſemalum, ſeagol or rye.

MEAT, FISH, &c.

Good living and an attention to perſonal ornaments were the prevailing paſſions of this reign. (*l*) A law was made to prohibit ſervants from eating fleſh meat and fiſh but once a day; nor was any man, under one hundred pounds a year, to wear gold, ſilver or ſilk in his clothes. In a place abounding with all the luxuries and ſuperfluities of life, and unawed by ſumptuary reſtrictions, the inhabitants of Kilkenny, no doubt, indulged themſelves to the utmoſt of their deſires. Accordingly the tolls on ſheep, goats, pigs and bacon are low; and thoſe on herrings, ſea-fiſh, ſalmon and lampreys but a farthing. Leek ſeed and onions are rated as articles of conſiderable con-

(*k*) Du Cange in voce. Kennet's parochial Antiquities, gloſſary.

(*l*) 37 Edw. III. Engliſh ſtatute.

ſumption; the Norman families had not forgotten the porrecta, porrèe, or leek ſoup of their countrymen, nor did they want ſpecies, or ſpices to improve it. No place in Europe affords accommodations for the table ſuperiour to Kilkenny at this day. Wooden diſhes and plates are mentioned; it is extraordinary if any others were uſed that they were not ſet down. A toll was paid on ore and copper; the former muſt have been pewter, and both were, not improbably, for making domeſtic utenſils.

HOUSES

In Kilkenny belonging to people of better faſhion were ſhingled and clap-boarded, as is now the caſe in America and the Weſt-Indies; both ſorts of covering are ſpecified. The windows were fitted up with coloured or white glaſs; the glaſs was in ſmall panes, as they are here eſtimated by the hundred; ſtaining glaſs was an art long known and practiſed, as was glazing with (*m*) lead; with this glaſs biſhop Ledred, about ſixty years before, adorned the eaſt window of the cathedral, as will be hereafter noticed. The common people uſed ruſh candles, but others had lamps, as the oil for them is here mentioned. (*n*) Tapiſtry or chaluns adorned their rooms.

DRESS,

As we before obſerved, was ſtudiouſly cultivated in thoſe times. It here conſiſts of various articles. The

(*m*) Feneſtras—ſimul plumbo ac vitro compactis tabulis ferroque connexis incluſit. Leo. Oſtiens. lib. 3. cap. 27. He writ about 1115.

(*n*) Du Cange in voce.

The gentry had their Engliſh, or foreign linens. The quantity ſufficient for an Iriſh ſhirt or ſmock, by the record, was twenty ells, or twenty five yards; this ſeems incredible, and yet no fact is better aſcertained. Fynes Moryſon (*o*), who writ in 1588, ſays: "Their ſhirts in our memory, before the laſt rebellion, were made of ſome twenty or thirty ells, folded in wrinkles, and coloured with ſaffron." To the ſame purpoſe (*p*) Campion: "Linen ſhirts the rich do wear for wantonneſs and bravery, with wide hanging ſleeves plaited; thirty yards are little enough for one of them:" and the 28 Hen. VIII. forbids above ſeven yards of cloth to be in any ſhirt or ſmock.

There is a warm diſpute in the red book (*q*) of Kilkenny, in the 6 Hen. VII. between the glovers and ſhoemakers, about the right of making girdles and all manner of girdles; which is at once a collateral proof of the looſe garments worn in this age, and how profitable in conſequence was the employment here contended for. The rich had alſo their whole cloth, extremely fine, that had paſſed the alnage; for ſo pannum integrum de Aſſiſa may be interpreted; alſo their cloth of gold, their bodkins or tiſſues, their ſilks and taffates.

Very few would expect to find, even in this century, ſuch mercery in an Iriſh town, it being more ſuited to ſome regal city or the imperial reſidence. We are not to forget, that the frequent concourſe of the nobility to this place, beſides the taſte of the times, was the obvious cauſe for introducing

(*o*) Itinerary, fol. p. 180. (*p*) Hiſt. pag. 18.
(*q*) Apud Laffan's MSS.

ducing theſe commodities. The poorer ſort had their Iriſh ſtuffs, called ſalewyche and wyrſted, their canvas linen, their phallangs and mantles; felt caps are alſo mentioned. This detail would have been fuller, and the reader ſhould have been preſented with a tranſlation of the record itſelf, were there not ſome articles which the writer did not underſtand, nor were they to be found in any gloſſary he had an opportunity of conſulting.

SECT. III.

IN 1365, Lionel duke of Clarence landed in Ireland. During his government a parliament was held at Kilkenny, where the antient Brehon laws are ſaid to have been annulled (*r*).

We have remarked, that about 1390, the earl of Ormond purchaſed the caſtle of Kilkenny from the heirs of Earl Marſhal, from which time he moſtly reſided in it. In the reign of Richard II. being lord juſtice, he and the council made in Kilkenny an order for the repair and ward of caſtles by their owners; the neglect of which was among the other reaſons that induced the Iriſh to revolt, and brought many inconveniencies and dangers on the Engliſh.

In 1399, king Richard made an expedition into Ireland; he was attended by a powerful army, and a numerous body of the Britiſh nobility. He landed

(*r*) Collectanea, vol. 2. pag. 40.

landed at Waterford, and marched to Kilkenny, where he halted for fourteen days.

"In the yere 1400, ſays Stanihurſt, Robert Talbot, a worthie gentleman incloſed with walls the better part of the towne, by which it was greatly fortified." This ſhort notice, with the year of his death 1415 (*s*), is all that is handed down of this eminent benefactor to the city; neither his motives for ſuch an expenſive undertaking, nor the particular inducements for ſo well-judged a liberality are hinted at. The following remarks may perhaps tend to elucidate this tranſaction.

Petronilla, ſiſter of James the ſecond earl of Ormond, in 1340 married Gilbert Talbot, anceſtor to the earl of Shrewſbury. This Gilbert and his ſon Richard remarkably ſignalized themſelves in the wars of Edward III. (*t*) Richard ſeeing how open and defenceleſs Kilkenny was on every ſide, and willing to ſhow his reſpect for his uncle, who a few years before had purchaſed it, and the more to attach the townſmen to the family, ſurrounded the city with a ſtrong wall. (*u*) It began at the earl's old ſtables, not far from the caſtle gate, and making a ſemicircular ſweep, or nearly ſo, ran acroſs the end of Coal market, and took in the Franciſcan abbey; the Nore ſecured it to the northward, ſo that the new town was quite incloſed.

Thomas

(*s*) A. D. 1415. Obiit Rob. Talbot nobilis, qui ſuburbias Kilkenniæ muro circumdedit. Ex Rot. turr. Berningham.

(*t*) He is called Richard by Burke, Hibern. Dominic. pag. 205, and not Robert as by Stanihurſt. Cambden falls into the ſame miſtake.

(*u*) Carte, ſupra. The wall may be accurately traced in the plan.

Thomas earl of Lancaſter in 1408, after the feaſt of St. Hilary, ſummoned a (*w*) parliament to Kilkenny, in order to have a tallage granted.

(*x*) A. D. 1419. The citizens were granted tolls for murage, pavage, &c.

In 1420, the clergy of (*y*) Oſſory paid a ſubſidy of 2*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* and the commons of Kilkenny 18*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*

During the unhappy feuds between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, the Ormond family ſuffered very ſeverely; in 1462, an earl of this houſe was executed for being a Yorkiſt, and Kilkenny was ſhortly after taken and plundered by Deſmond who eſpouſed the other party.

Tirlagh O Brien (*z*), lord of Thomond had, in 1499, great conteſts with Sir Piers Butler about preys and the bounds of lands, which according to the cuſtom of the times ended in a battle. The inhabitants of Kilkenny marched out in aid of the Butlers, but they were defeated and their ſovereign ſlain.

Ware under the year 1528, mentions a baron of Kilkenny, who he was we have not diſcovered; the great palatines granted this and inferiour dignities, but they were barely nominal, conferring none of the privileges of the peerage.

(*a*) A. D. 1536, the lord deputy Grey came to Kilkenny, and the next day the parliament ſat there; from thence it adjourned to Caſhell.

Piers

(*w*) Annals, ſupra. Appendix VI. where liberty is allowed the citizens to trade with the rebels.

(*x*) Appendix VII.

(*y*) Cox.

(*z*) Cox, pag. 195.

(*a*) Cox, pag. 247.

Piers or Peter, earl of Ormond, who died the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt 1539, married Margaret Fitz Gerald, daughter of the earl of Kildare, a lady of moſt amiable qualities; this noble and excellent pair endeavoured to enrich Kilkenny by introducing manufactures into it. For this purpoſe, they brought out of Flanders and the neighbouring provinces, artificers, whom they employed and encouraged at Kilkenny (*b*), in working tapeſtry, diaper, turkey carpets, cuſhions, &c. ſome of which, for many years, remained in the family; nor is it improbable, but that the tapeſtry at preſent in the caſtle may be the work of thoſe Flemings. If the ſtory of Decius is theirs, we muſt conceive very highly of their ingenuity, taſte and execution. But the times were too unſettled, and the nation not civilized enough to give encouragement to the elegant arts and works of fancy.

(*c*) This earl, every year for the laſt fortnight in Lent, retired to a chamber in St. Canice's churchyard, called (*d*) Paradiſe, and there devoted himſelf to prayer and almſgiving, and returned to his own houſe on Eaſter eve. He was not aſhamed of the duties of religion; he was conſcious that from the practice of them new ſplendour was derived to his family and high rank.

A. D.

(*b*) Carte, ſupra. Ware ſays, the earl by his counteſs's advice hired and placed the polymitary, and other ſkilful artificers in Kilkenny. Annals 1539. Polymita, veſtis multis variiſque coloribus filis et liciis contexta et variegata. Du Cange in voce.

(*c*) Carte, ſupra.

(*d*) Atrium ante eccleſiam, quod nos, Romana conſuetudine, Paradiſum dicimus. Leo. Marſic. lib. 3. cap. 26. apud Lindenbrog. Cod. leg. antiq. et Du Cange in voce.

A. D. 1540. Sir William Brereton, marſhal of Ireland, died at Kilkenny, as Cox tells us.

In 1552 (*e*), John Bale, the celebrated catalogue writer, was biſhop of Oſſory; he compoſed many religious dramatic pieces; two of which, a tragedy called God's promiſes, and a comedy, intitled the preaching of John Baptiſt, were acted by young men at the Market croſs in Kilkenny, on a Sunday.

Baron Finglas, reporting the ſtate of Ireland in his breviate, at this time, bears honourable teſtimony of the cultivated manners of the county of Kilkenny: "The counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, ſays he, wear the Engliſh habit, and keep the Engliſh order and rule, and the king's laws were obeyed here within theſe fifty-one years; and there dwelled divers knights, eſquires and gentlemen, who uſe the Engliſh habit."

The Butlers and Deſmonds, offended at ſome proceedings of the deputy, Sir Henry Sydney flew to arms in 1568, and committed many outrages. Sir Peter Carew was ſent to oppoſe them, which he did with ſucceſs, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Kilkenny. Fitzmaurice, brother to Deſmond, inveſted the town, but the ſpirited conduct of the garriſon and citizens ſoon obliged him to withdraw; however (*f*), in reſentment he plundered the ſmaller towns and villages, and particularly robbed old Fulco Quiverford (Comerford) of Callan of 2000*l.* in money, plate, houſhold ſtuff, corn and cattle; Quiverford had been ſervant to three earls of Ormond.

Rory

(*e*) Biographia Britannica, Article Bale.
(*f*) Cox, pag. 334.

Rory Oge O More, in 1576, made his ſubmiſſion in the church of Kilkenny, before the lord deputy and the earl of Ormond.

The following year the lord deputy (*g*) held a ſeſſions in Kilkenny, when ſeveral perſons, both of the city and county, were diſcovered to be abettors of Rory Oge, but the popiſh juries could not be induced to find the bills of indictment, although the parties confeſſed the fact; they were therefore bound in recognizance to appear in the caſtle chamber in Dublin, to anſwer the contempt.

Sir William Drury, lord preſident of Munſter, came to the deputy at Kilkenny, and complained, that Deſmond kept together an unruly rabble, and being ſent for, refuſed to attend the preſident. Deſmond, being cited before the deputy, immediately appeared, and excuſed his not waiting on the preſident, becauſe he was his inveterate enemy. Thirty-ſix criminals were executed in Kilkenny this year.

In 1579, Sir William Pelham, lord juſtice, made his progreſs towards Munſter, and coming to Kilkenny he there kept ſeſſions, and ordered Edmond Mac Nial (*h*), an arch-traytor and other malefactors to be executed; after which he reconciled the earl of Ormond and the lord of Upper Oſſory, each giving bonds for the reſtitution of preys.

Fynes Moryſon, writing about the year 1588, ſays; "Kilkenny, giving name to a county, is a pleaſant town, the chief of the towns within land, memorable for the civility of the inhabitants, for the

(*g*) Cox, pag. 351.
(*h*) Ware's Annals. Cox, pag. 360.

the husbandman's labour and the pleasant (*i*) orchards." Cambden, in the old edition of 1590, repeats part of this account: "Municipium est nitidum, elegans, copiosum, et inter mediterranea hujus insulæ facile primum. Dividitur in oppidum Hibernicum et Anglicum." What he says of its name from St. Canice, of the English town being constructed by Ralph, the third earl of Chester, and its castle by the Butlers, are, as we have seen, assertions without proof and contradicted by history.

Queen Elizabeth, in the sixteenth year of her reign, A. D. 1573, granted a charter to Kilkenny, which as it and that of her successor king James are in the hands of many persons, I shall but touch on.

By this the stile of the corporation is,

The SOVEREIGN, BURGESSES and COMMONALTY.

All their antient privileges are confirmed.

They may have a merchant gild and other gilds.

The burgesses are permitted to dispose of their tenements or alter their situation.

The sovereign took cognizance of breaches of the peace, and the (*k*) provost presided in the hundred court, and tried civil actions.

To draw a sword, or skein, (cultellum) in a quarrel, was punishable by the fine of half a mark.

There was to be a pillory (colliſtrigium) and tumbrel, for the punishment of offenders.

The burgesses were exempted from military duty, and free from customs throughout the Queen's dominions, as the burgesses of Gloceſter were.

Those

(*i*) The account of the city's estate, in 1628, fully confirms this fact.

(*k*) This will explain page 21, before.

Thoſe who ſuffered their tenements to go to decay in the town, were to be diſtrained until they rebuilt or repaired them.

A clerk was to be choſen from the burgeſſes; he was to receive of the lord of Kilkenny twenty ſhillings, and of the town ten ſhillings. The laudable and faithful ſervices of the citizens, and thoſe lately performed are mentioned as juſt reaſons for particular favours. This alludes to their conduct under Sir Peter Carew in 1568.

They were to have a common ſeal, and the ſovereign to be a juſtice of peace, coroner and eſcheator in the town, in the ſame ample manner as the ſovereign of Roſſpont, or New Roſs.

A. D. 1594, on St. George's day, there was a great cavalcade in Kilkenny, when the lords rode in their places, as Cox informs us.

A. D. 1600. The earl of Ormond forced the great rebel Redmond Burk and his followers into the river Nore, where ſeventy of them were drowned, and particularly John Burk. Redmond was ſoon after taken and executed (*l*) at Kilkenny.

Mr. Nicholas Langton was appointed by the city their agent to ſolicit a new charter in Dublin, in 1608 *.

The charter of James I. was made in 1609. It recites that Kilkenny was well ſituated to repel the Iriſh rebels, and had performed eminent ſervices in this reſpect, and therefore he creates it a CITY by the ſtile of the

MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMON COUNCIL, &c.

The

(*l*) Cox, pag. 433. * Laffan's MSS.

The Mayor to be choſen yearly, on the Monday after the feaſt of St. John the baptiſt; and Thomas Ley to be firſt Mayor.

The Aldermen not to exceed eighteen, and
Robert Rothe, afterwards Sir Robert Rothe,
Arthur Shee,
Richard Ragget,
Elias Shee,
Thomas Archer,
Patrick Archer,
Luke Shee,
Edward Rothe,
John Rothe Fitz Pierce,
Nicholas Langton,
Edward Shee,
Walter Lawleſs,
Thomas Ley,
David Rothe,
Walter Archer,
Michael Cowley,
Thomas Shee, and
William Shee to be the firſt Aldermen, and
Robert Rothe to be Recorder.

The burgeſſes and commons of Kilkenny to be accounted as citizens, and to admit others to their freedom.

Two citizens to be ſheriffs, Walter Ryan and Thomas Pembrock, the firſt; theſe to be annually choſen, the monday next after Midſummer; their election to be certified into the Exchequer, and they to hold courts.

Four or five ſerjeants are allowed, and a ſword permitted to be borne before the mayor.

The

The mayor and recorder may have deputies, who are to be juſtices of the peace, and clerks of the market.

Half the forfeitures of treaſons and felonies is given to the city; they were allowed three fairs annually, and three markets weekly.

The gild permitted to be eſtabliſhed in Kilkenny receives ſome illuſtration from Mr. Laffan's papers, from whence we ſhall extract ſome curious particulars; previouſly obſerving, that gilds or fraternities were very early eſtabliſhed in corporate towns for the advantage of the citizens. They were to purchaſe every foreign commodity from the maker and importer at an under rate, and their own they were to ſell at the higheſt prices. Each perſon was confined to his own trade, and heavy penalties were annexed to the violation of theſe rules. The red and gild books, wherever extant, are full of theſe impolitic reſtrictions; a few inſtances may ſuffice:

1. Whoever ſhall buy goods for foreign merchants, or employ foreigners' money for little or no gain, ſhall be fined 5*l.* currency, toties quoties.
2. No ſtrange merchant to open any ware in any houſe within the franchiſes, under pain of 40*s.*
3. No inhabitant or freeman to receive any money beforehand, to buy hides, fells, frize mantles, or wool, under the penalty of 3*l.*
4. A pewterer of Briſtol permitted, on paying five ſhillings, to ſell his pewter to freemen of Kilkenny, he having made the gild the firſt offer.
5. The ſame to a glaſs-bottle man.

Theſe

Theſe and numberleſs other examples ſhew us, what narrow views men then entertained of traffic, and how imperfectly the principles of it were underſtood. Were the nobleſt rivers confined to their native ſtreams, and precluded from admixture with other waters, we ſhould be deprived of all the uſeful and ornamental advantages attendant on ſuch conjunctions. In like manner a free and diſencumbered commerce carries with it wealth wherever it flows, but clogged with reſtrictions, is of little importance.

Beſides the foregoing, the (*m*) gild of merchants had monopolized the providing for funerals, as appears by the report of John Gernon, of the city of Kilkenny, alderman; John Archdekin ſenior, and James Roane of the ſaid city, merchants, and freemen of the merchant-gild, appointed to regulate the future diſpoſal of the wax tapers, black hangings, and hearſe cloth belonging to ſaid gild.

1. They find that in former times when the gild wanted wax, two of the body were nominated by the hall to aſſeſs on the members, as equally as they could, what ſums were neceſſary; two collectors were impowered to diſtrain defaulters; the money, when levied, was laid out in the purchaſe of wax for the uſe of the gild.

2. One or two of the gild were aſſigned to be keeper or keepers of the tapers, wax, candleſticks, hearſe cloth and hangings; theſe were not to be given out without the conſent of the maſter, or three or four members of the gild.

3. That

(*m*) Apud Laffan's MSS.

3. That at the funeral of every alderman, or maſter of the gild, there was ſpent uſually three pounds; the ſame when any alderman's or maſter's wife died; on every freeman, two pounds ten ſhillings; what was expended over and above was to be returned in wax, and payment for making the tapers.

4. Whoever got the tapers, hearſe cloth, candleſticks or hangings were to leave ſufficient pledges until they were reſtored, and payment made for the tapers, and for the overplus wax conſumed.

5. From ſuch as were not free of the gild, the keepers were to receive ſatisfaction for tapers, &c. as in their diſcretion they thought fit; a regular account was to be kept; the receipts to be ſtated thrice annually, and three pounds per centum to be deducted for making ſaid tapers.

From theſe particulars we may conclude, that funeral obſequies were performed moſtly in the night. It was certainly the practice of the early (*n*) Chriſtians to prepare entertainments before the interment of the deceaſed, and to conduct the corpſe to the grave with wax tapers; it is ſtill retained in Roman Catholic countries.

Bull-beating was a favourite amuſement with our anceſtors. By the (*o*) red book of Kilkenny we are informed, that in that city was a LORD OF BULL-RING. There are ſtatutes for leſſening the expences

(*n*) Tranſlata eſt epiſcoporum manibus, et cervicem feretro ſubjicentibus, cum alii pontifices lampades cereoſque præferrent. Hieron. epiſt. ad. Euſtach. For feaſts on thoſe occaſions, ſee Auguſtin. de luxur. et avar. cap. 6. Ambros. de jejun. cap. 17. They carried tapers in the day; moles cereorum, ſole fulgente, accendi. Hieron. advers. Vigilant.

(*o*) Laffan's MSS.

expences of his banquet, and an order for John Fitz Lewis to pay thirteen pounds on being discharged from this office. He was afterwards called the mayor of bull-ring. The direction of this sport was, in most considerable towns, committed to the care of some reputable batchelor, who was able to contribute to the expences attendant on it; the gild in Kilkenny supplied the rest; a certain sum was allowed for his banquet, and he had his sheriffs; his election was annual by the citizens, and during his office he was Guardian of the batchelors, and on their marriage was entertained by them, so that he passed his time in festivity and good chear. As commerce and manufactures increased, this amusement was discontinued; time became too valuable to be wasted on such pastimes, and after the revolution, they ceased every where.

In 1601, Kilkenny *(p)* was the residence of the lord president Mountjoy. On *(q)* the accession of the elder James, the Roman catholics rose every where, and endeavoured to shake off those coercive laws with which parliament had thought proper to shackle them *(r)*. In 1603, the religious of this communion were not less precipitate and violent in Kilkenny than their brethren in other places. Edmond Raughter, a Dominican, headed a sedition in that city; broke open the Black Abbey, which had

(p) Cox, pag. 442.

(q) Secuto veluti interregno per mortem Elizabethæ, cum nondum satis constaret de successoris mente quoad religionem, nonnullæ civitates et oppida, quasi postliminio, vendicant ecclesias usui catholico. Et in his Canicopolitani monasterium ordinis Prædicatorum e tribunali restituunt in sacrarium. Quo eorum facto, ordines regni offenduntur, eosque persequuntur. Analect. de reb. Hib. pag. 527.

(r) Cox. pag. 17.

had for ſome time been uſed as a court-houſe; pulled down the ſeats, erected an altar, forced the keys of his houſe from one Mr. Biſhop, who lived in part of the abbey, and gave poſſeſſion of the whole to the friars; though by act of parliament it was turned to a lay-fee, and by legal conveyances became the property of other men; but thoſe diſturbances were ſoon quelled by the activity of lord Mountjoy, who writ the following letter to the chief magiſtrate of Kilkenny. It is preſerved in Fynes Moryſon.

"To the Sovereign of Kilkenny."

"After my hearty commendations; I have received your letters of the 25th and 26th of this month, and am glad to underſtand thereby, that you are ſomewhat conformable to my directions; being willing to have cauſe to interpret your actions to the beſt. But though I mean not to ſearch into your conſciences, yet I muſt needs take knowledge of the publick breach of his majeſty's laws; and whereas you let me underſtand, that the inhabitants are willing to withdraw themſelves for their ſpiritual exerciſe to privity, contented only with the uſe of the Minors (the Franciſcan) abbey: That being a publick place, I cannot but take notice thereof, and marvel how you dare preſume to diſpoſe at your pleaſure of the abbey, or any thing belonging to his majeſty; and therefore again charge you upon your allegiance to forbear any publick exerciſe of that religion, prohibited by the laws of this realm; and fully to reform theſe diſorders, according to my directions, upon your extreme peril.

From Dublin, this 27th of April, 1603."

The (s) Rent charge of the antient common revenue of the city of Kilkenny by the year. A. D. 1628.

	l.	s.	d.
Mr. Richard Lawleſs, for the room over the High Town gate, three ſhillings Iriſh - - - -	0	3	0
The caſtle over the Freren (Friars) gate	0	1	8
Edmond Archer, for the vault over Kilberry tower - - -	0	0	8
Robert Archer, for the rooms over St. James's gate - -	0	13	4
Mr. David Roth, for the rooms over Walkin's gate -	0	0	8
Mr. Richard Roth for the rooms over St. Patrick's gate - -	0	10	0
Mr. William Shee, for the caſtle near Caſtle gate - -	0	6	8
James Brinn, for the rooms over the Eaſt gate of St. John's -	0	0	4
Mr. Michael Archer, for two bayes near the ſaid Eaſt gate - -	0	5	0
Edmond Loghnan's aſſigns for two bayes there - - -	0	5	0
Walter Cantwell, aſſignee to Stephen Daniel, for four bayes -	0	10	0
John Shee, for four bayes -	0	10	0
Walter Ryan's aſſigns, for two bayes there - -	0	3	0

The

(s) Laſſan's MSS. This curious document will point out the extent of the city at this time, and the ſituation of many buildings now no more.

The incroachment upon the town ditch at St. John's, and the rent due for the ſame.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Robert Courſey's aſſigns, for an incroachment upon the town ditch in his garden - -	0	2	0
Walter Leix, for ditto -	0	0	8
Mr. Michael Cowley, for a houſe, late Edmond Daniel's - -	0	11	0
Walter Leix, for a ſlip over the water near his houſe - -	0	3	0
The heirs of Edmond Grace, for a houſe in St. John's ſtreet - -	1	9	0
Robert Langton's aſſigns, for a houſe	1	4	0
Michael Archer, for the rooms over St. John's caſtle - -	0	5	0
Patrick Shee, for the rooms over St. John's ſlip - -	0	0	4
Peter Roth Fitz John, for a houſe and garden near the great orchard in the Eaſt ſide thereof -	0	2	0
Mr. Patrick Archer, for the kill-houſe and garden by the Caſtle gate -	0	2	0
Peirce Archer, for the corner houſe at Caſtle ſtreet - -	0	4	0
The ſaid Peirce for the next houſe to the ſame - - -	1	2	0
Henry Archer for a houſe at Crocker's croſs - -	0	4	0
Mic. Archer, aſſignee to John Brenan, for four cooples, parcel of David Pembrock's farm in Walkin ſtreet -	0	17	0
Beale Barkly, for a meſſuage north ſide Walkin ſtreet - -	0	8	0

	l.	s.	d.
Patrick Sychan, his aſſigns, for four cooples	0	10	8
John Deneagh, his aſſigns, for a coople	0	2	8
William Fitz Thomas, his aſſigns, for two cooples	0	8	8
Tho. St. Leger, aſſignee to Walter Ragget, for four cooples	0	17	2
Kate Fitzharries aſſigns, for two cooples	0	8	8
Richard Roth, for two cooples	0	8	8
Thomas Archer's aſſigns, for a meſſuage in Walkin ſtreet	1	0	0
Walter Cantwell, for Geoffry Roth's houſe	0	12	0
William Kelly, for a ſhop under the Tholſel	0	10	0
John Hacket, for a ſtone houſe at the entry of St. James's ſtreet	0	13	4
Edward Cleer, for a meſſuage at the Arkwell	0	0	8
Peter Shee, for the corner ſhop	0	0	6
James Shee's aſſigns, for the ſlip at John Barry's new houſe	0	0	2
Thomas Archer's aſſigns, for land at the north end of the old Tholſel	0	0	5
Richard Roth, for the rooms over the ſlip in his houſe	0	1	0
William Shee, for his houſe in Low lane	0	13	0
Richard Brophy's aſſigns, for a meſſuage near Jenkin's mill	0	6	8
To the maſter and company of ſhoemakers, for licence for tanning	0	3	4
Patrick Archer, for half the tythes of Querryboy	0	1	4
Thomas Archer, for half the tythes of Querryboy	0	1	4

Richard

	l.	s.	d.
Richard Troy, for a garden near the Green	0	2	6
Thomas Archer's aſſigns, for the Standart Garden - - -	0	1	4
Walter Shee, for Downing's Inch	0	3	0
Michael Marſhall, for a garden at the Lake	0	2	0
James Archer, for a garden at Mill ſtreet	0	1	0
John Byrn's aſſigns, for an acre of land	0	2	0
Patrick Synnott, for Gibb's Inch	0	1	0
John Roth Fitz Edward, for four acres of land near Loughboy - -	0	17	0
Thomas Ley's aſſigns, for the North caſtle at the Magdalens -	0	14	0
Thomas Archer's aſſigns, for the next houſe to the ſaid caſtle -	0	11	0
Edward Roth's aſſigns, for a houſe next the ſame, a parcel of the town ditch, and an acre of land -	0	8	0
John Cullen, for a houſe and acre of land, rent free during his life			
Edmond Tehan, for the next houſe	0	4	0
Edward Langton's aſſigns, for a void place near the Poor-houſe -	0	2	0
Adam Shee's aſſigns, for a void room near the Poor-houſe -	0	5	0
Thomas Ley's aſſigns, for a houſe and land near the ſame -	0	5	0
Walter Cleer and James Cleer's children, for a houſe and land -	0	16	0
David Mery, for a meſſuage and land in the Magdalens - -	0	13	4
Patrick Morres, for a meſſuage and land where Patrick Lannon dwelt -	1	0	4
Lucas Shee's aſſigns, for the next meſſuage	0	16	0

	l.	s.	d.
Edward Shee's aſſigns, for a meſſuage next the Port, and for land -	0	11	8
Lucas Shee's aſſigns, for the Black caſtle of the Magdalens -	0	18	4
Edward Shee's aſſigns, for the next farm, formerly Seix's -	0	8	0
Gillopatrick Sychan, for the next houſe and land - -	0	12	0
Nicholas Langton, for the next farm and land - -	0	10	0
Patrick Gormell's aſſigns, for a meſſuage and land - -	0	10	0
Patrick Fitz James's aſſigns, for Patrick Mery and William Reardon's meſſuage	0	7	8
Edward Langton's aſſigns, for two acres of the Magdalen's land -	0	3	0
Nicholas Langton, for Ann Walſh's meſſuage - -	0	8	0
Patrick Synnot, for the ſhop under the Old tholſel - -	0	10	0
Aſſigns of Patrick Murphy and John Archer, for licence for tanning	0	6	8
Richard Roth, for licence for tanning	0	1	4
James Shee, for licence for tanning	0	1	4
Jaſper Shee's aſſigns, for a garden near the houſe - -	0	5	0

The bailiff, receiver of the revenues belonging to St. John's Abbey, his charge.

James Langton's heirs, for a meſſuage near St. John's bridge -	0	16	0

Heirs

	l.	s.	d.
Heirs of Walter Daniel, for the next houſe and garden -	0	16	0
James Shee, for the next houſe and garden	0	16	0
Executors of Pat. Fitz James, for the next houſe and garden - -	0	13	4
Walter Shee, for two meſſuages and two gardens there - -	1	5	4
Tho. Shee Fitz Edmond, for next houſe and garden at Tomyn hill -	0	10	0
John Hoen, for a houſe next the hoſpital, and garden of the common, without St. John's gate - -	1	6	8
Edmond Ryan, for the prior's chambers	0	2	0
Peirce Roth Fitz Edward, for the vault, the great kitchen and garden -	0	6	8
Nicholas Aſtekin, for two chambers in the cloyſter of St. John's, and an orchard near the cloyſter - -	1	0	0
Nicholas Wall's aſſigns, for Sir David's orchard - -	0	18	0
William Shee, for a houſe in John ſtreet, formerly David Kearney's -	2	10	0
Walter Cleer, for the cart gate, caſtle, and out ſtall in St. John's cloyſter	0	2	0
Pat. Fitz James's aſſigns, for two meſſuages next the hoſpital -	0	0	0
George Langton's aſſigns, for the bake-houſe at St. John's and the Prior's fires - -	0	2	0
The ſaid aſſigns, for the chapter-houſe within the cloyſter - -	0	7	0

The

The rooms from the entry of St. John's Abbey towards the outer St. John's gate.

	l.	s.	d.
John Hoen, for the corner ſhop near the entry, and four other cooples -	0	10	0
Wat. Cantwell, aſſignee to Stephen Daniel, for four bayes there -	0	10	0
Edmond Laghnan, for two bayes there	0	5	0
Walter Ryan, aſſignee, for two bayes there	0	3	6
Michael Archer, for three cooples	0	5	0
Wat. Cantwell, for a houſe, turret and cloſe in St. John's ſtreet -	0	13	4

The ſouth ſide of the Abbey.

Aſſigns of James Birne, for a houſe and garden - -	1	6	8
Edmond Ryan, for a houſe -	0	13	4
Nicholas Aſtekin, for his houſe in St. John's	0	1	0
Aſſigns of Patrick Fitz James, for a meſſuage - -	0	16	0
Simon Seix, for a meſſuage and garden	0	16	0
Thomas Shee, aſſignee of Sir Richard Shee, for a houſe in St. John ſtreet	2	0	0

Houſes in the High Town.

Thomas Ley's aſſigns, for a houſe near the Old tholſel - -	0	6	0
Thomas St. Leger's executors, for his houſe - -	0	12	0
James Archer Fitz Martin, for his houſe	0	7	0
Edmond Ryan, for the Prior's orchard	1	6	0
George Shee, for the upper orchard	0	14	0

The gardens beginning at St. Michael's gate, and thence to Tomyn's hill round to St. John's gate.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Robert Shee, for the clover houſe and garden - -	0	6	8
Walter Cleer, for the great croft	0	13	8
Pat. Morchan's aſſigns, for a garden north of the ſame - -	0	4	0
Geoffry Roth's aſſigns, for a garden	0	16	0
Edm. Ryan, for a garden at Tomyn hill	0	4	0
Pat. Morchan's aſſigns, for two gardens	0	4	0
John Seix, for the corner garden in the S. W. end of St. John's gate -	0	6	8
George Comerford's aſſigns, for the corner	0	1	0
Nic. Aſtekin, for a garden called Syrman's hayes - -	0	16	0

The quarter South the way leading from St. John's gate to the Green.

Nicholas Loghnan's aſſigns, for a garden	0	2	8
Owner Mc. Donaghoe's aſſigns, for a garden - -	0	6	8
Patrick Mory, for David Kearney's garden	0	2	0
John Roth Fitz John, for a garden	0	3	8

From the Magdalen's to St. John's gate.

Tho. Ley's aſſigns, for the Magdalen's mills - -	6	0	0
Rich. Langton, for a garden beſide the mills - -	0	3	0
The infirmary garden, being 13*s.* 4*d.* allowed by the corporation to the hoſpital, Richard Troy tenant -	0	8	0

Pat.

	l.	s.	d.
Pat. Morchan's aſſigns, for the next garden	0	2	8
Edmond Archer, for three gardens in the High hayes - -	0	13	0
Said Edmond, for Sinnett's church yard, garden and croft - -	0	6	0
Henry Shee's aſſigns, for two gardens	0	9	0
Edward Cleer, for a garden at the Black mill - -	0	4	0
Walter Daniel, for a garden -	0	4	8
Richard Lawleſs, for the ſweet pond	0	4	0
Chriſtopher Shee, for the Prior's meadow	0	8	0
Edm. Archer, for the third part of the demeſne of St. John -	2	0	0
Robert Cleer, for a quarter of ſaid demeſne	1	0	0
William Shee, for a third of the demeſnes	2	0	0
Geo. Langton's aſſigns, for the Prior's wood, Roaſhferian, Bannaghcarragh and the cherry croft -	1	12	0
James Kivan, for the parſon's manſe land of Comer - -	0	13	4
Michael Cowley, for his third part of Brownſtown - -	3	0	0
Michael Ragget, for two acres of land at Ardſkreddan - -	0	8	0
Mr. David Roth, for three parts of Drakeland - -	9	0	0
John Roth Fitz Edward, for the fourth part of Drakeland -	3	0	0
David Roth, for the round meadow	0	4	0
Richard Cleer, for a meadow beſides Robert's hill - -	0	2	8
Simon Whyte's aſſigns, for the lands of Tromer, county Wexford -	0	14	0

	l.	s.	d.
Walter Talbot, for the lands of Brittas, Polring alias Melring, Ballygarum, and five acres in Ballyſampſon	14	16	8
Nicholas Roth's aſſigns, for a meſſuage in Roſs	0	1	4
James Fitzharries, for the parſonage of Roſs	20	0	0
Marcus Shee, for land in Cotterell's boly	4	0	0
Patrick Murphy, for the parſon's part of Moycully	4	0	0
Thomas Garrett, for the parſon's part of the manſe land of Skirk	0	13	0
John Dooly and Robert Murphy, for the manſe land of Jerpoint	2	13	4
George St. Leger, for the parſon's part of the manſe land of Tabbrit	13	0	0
Edward Langton's aſſigns, for the Levy-acre	1	0	0
Robert Hacket, for a garden near St. John's gate	0	1	6
Courſey's heirs, for the houſe next the end of St. John's bridge	0	4	0
John Baſkerville, for the parſonage of Skirk, except manſe land	22	3	4
David Roth, for Rathleigh	1	6	8
John Kivan, for the manſe land of Dunfart	0	6	8
John Seix, for the parſonage of Jenkinstown	3	6	8
Richard Langton, for a part of the demeſnes	0	16	0

The

The charge of the Fryer-bailiff for Michaelmas 1633, and Eaſter 1634, Robert Shee, Eſq; mayor, Edmond Mc. Ireyne, bailiff, beginning at the Black freren gate, and about the precinct of the Black fryars.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Patrick Murphy, for the orchard near the Black freren gate - -	0	6	8
Henry Maynwaring, for the room in the north ſide of the Black freren ſteeple, and the upper rooms of the ſteeple	0	3	4
Ditto, for the houſe called the king's chamber, the cloyſter, the kill-houſe, Sir Richard Cantwell's chamber, &c.	2	4	4
Ditto, for the room near the chop-houſe	0	3	0
Edward Clinton's aſſigns to Mr. Lucas Shee, for an orchard within the Freren, and a meſſuage and garden in the old Freren ſtreet - -	0	17	0
Ditto, aſſignee to Anne Walſh, for a houſe and garden in the Freren ſtreet -	0	13	4
Pat. Dowly, for a meſſuage, garden and orchard near the wall -	0	12	0
Richard Roth, four bayes of a houſe, eaſt ſide of Freren ſtreet -	0	16	0
Peter Roth, for the kill-houſe and garden near the choir - -	0	16	8
Edward Clinton, for the two next houſes	0	8	0

The inner Freren ſtreet.

John Loghnan, for his houſe -	1	1	0
John Loghnan, for the houſe next the bridge - -	0	10	0
James Dobbin, for his houſe -	0	6	0

Peter

	l.	s.	d.
Peter Roth, for a room in Freren ſtreet and moiety of the garden at Black freren gate - -	0	10	0
Edmond Treny, for a houſe, Inner Freren ſtreet - -	0	8	0
Oliver Roth, for half an orchard and half a meſſuage there - -	0	13	0
Robert Roth, for the ſame -	0	13	0
Patrick Gaffney, for half a meſſuage S. ſide of Freren ſtreet -	1	0	0
Peter Roth, for a houſe and garden there	0	13	0
Mic. Power, for a houſe on the north ſide	0	14	0
John Hoen Fitz Robert, for a houſe and garden next to Troy's gate -	0	10	0
Redmond Savadge, for the corner houſe before Troy's gate -	0	8	0
William Kelly, for a houſe ſouth ſide	1	0	0
Robert Murphy, for two meſſuages next the ſame - - -	1	0	0
Pat. Gaffney, for a houſe and garden near the High Town gate -	0	13	0

Within the High Town gate.

Walter Shee, for the houſe next the High Town gate on the weſt ſide -	0	8	0
Richard Lawleſs, his houſe -	0	6	0
Jenkin Roth, for a houſe in a lane leading to the Gray Friars -	0	7	4
Patrick Gaffney, for a meſſuage	0	5	4
Peter Roth, for a void room in the Gray Freren park - -	0	13	4
Richard Roth, for a chamber and void room in the cloiſter there -	1	0	0

Peter

	l.	s.	d.
Peter Roth, for the kill-houſe and meſſuage next the choir -	0	16	0
Patrick Murphy, for a houſe in the Gray Freren park - -	1	2	8
Patrick Murphy, for a ſtone houſe near the Freren gate -	0	17	4
Robert Archer, for the rooms over the chapter houſe, ſteeple and body of the abbey there - -	0	3	4
Margaret Murphy, for the Gray Freren park - -	1	0	0
Henry Archer, for a houſe and orchard W. St. Francis's wall -	1	0	0
Richard Savadge, his houſe -	0	3	0
George Shee, his houſe -	0	18	4
Thomas Ley, for the houſe and ſlip near the New Quay - -	0	6	8
Robert Archer, for a houſe and garden N of St. James's ſtreet -	0	12	0
Thomas Shee Fitz Michael, for a houſe at the Market Croſs -	0	6	8
David Roth, for two houſes near our Lady's churchyard ſtile -	0	1	8
Joan Power, for a houſe and garden in Bowce's lane - -	0	6	8
William Archer, for a houſe at Crocker's croſs, weſt of Patrick ſtreet -	0	6	0
Heirs of Lettice Walſh, for a houſe E. ſide of Patrick ſtreet - -	0	6	0
Richard Fitz Nicholas, for a meſſuage	0	10	0
Thomas Ragget, for a meſſuage there	0	8	0

Gardens and Outlands.

	l.	s.	d.
George Shee, for a parcel of land called Biſhop's lane - -	0	8	0
Said Shee, for a garden called Hay hill	0	4	0
Peter Roth, for the Gray Freren Inches	2	13	0
Peter Roth Fitz Edward, for gardens near Black Freren gate -	0	6	8
Said Roth, for two or three gardens	0	7	0
Henry Maynwaring, for a garden at Killberry tower - -	0	16	0
Sir Cyprian Horsfall, for a parcel of meadow near St. Canice's well	0	6	0
Edmond Grace's aſſigns, for a garden, corner St. Roch's churchyard	0	6	8
Robert Murphy, aſſignee to Thomas Geat, for a garden - -	0	1	0
Peter Roth, aſſignee to William Roth, for a garden - -	0	6	8
Daniel Martin, aſſignee to Clement Shee, for a garden - -	0	4	0
Phillip Roth, for a garden there -	0	6	8
Walter Ryan's aſſigns, for three acres of furze at the Booths -	0	7	0
John Hoyne, for two acres of land and two acres of meadow at Kildriſſe	0	4	6
Richard Roth, for a meadow at Coulriſh	0	1	6
John Shee, for Farren-brock, Cheppie and Liſnafunſy - -	13	6	8
Robert Shee, for the moiety of Ardragh	1	0	0
Henry Archer, for the moiety -	1	0	0
James Shortal, for Ballynolan -	0	10	0
Robert Shee, for two acres of meadow at Aldernwood - -	0	1	0

James

	l.	s.	d.
James Aſtekin, for two acres of meadow at Coolboycan - -	0	4	0
Richard Roth, for an acre of wood and certain lands at Keatingſtown	0	0	10
The rent iſſuing out of Boothſtown	0	18	4
Nicholas Aſtekin, for a meadow at Coolis-hill - -	0	5	4
The total of the City's annual revenue £.	231	17	11

SECT. IV.

IN 1619, biſhop Wheeler preſented a ſtate of the biſhoprick of Oſſory to the king, in which he ſets forth, that the manor and lordſhip of Kilkenny was before and at the conqueſt belonging to the biſhops of Oſſory, with large liberties both of freedoms and other privileges thereunto belonging, all which in the ſickneſs of the late biſhop were by a new charter granted unto Kilkenny (whereby it was incorporated a city) united and made of the county of the ſaid city, to the great prejudice of the preſent and future biſhops (*a*).

In 1636, the lord deputy Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, viſited Kilkenny, when (*b*) the mayor of the city thus addreſſed him:

" Right noble Lord,

The general applauſe of heaven, the joyful acclamations of Ireland, and pleaſant paſtimes of the multitudes

(*a*) Ware's MSS. vol. 75. (*b*) Laffan's MSS.

multitudes of Kilkenny, the true antient ſeat of Engliſh warriors, loyal always to their kings and crowns, ſuit with the dignity of you her renowned viceroy, lord Thomas Wentworth. Be pleaſed then amidſt your triumphs, to vouchſafe her and me leave to feed our unſatisfied eyes with the longed-for aſpect of Ireland's parent, protector and reliever; to run this day upon ſome of the pleaſing effects of your government, with admiration of thoſe natural and intellectual parts of yours, which like ſo many ſtars in conjunction, with the glorious ſun of England, fit inſtruments and fortunate organs! to illuminate with their influences the breath of a faithful people.

Witneſs your wiſdom, prompt to overſlip no way, no means to reform the abuſes, root out the vices and remove the annoyances; witneſs your induſtry, watchful not only of the common, but of the private welfare of each deſerving ſubject. His majeſty beſtowing you on us as a good, neceſſary for all; and arming your deſigns with ſuch means, as beſt conduce to the maintenance of the eſtates in ſecurity, againſt all wrongful intruders. The king of kings intruſting into your hands, for our behoof, the heart and bounty of the great CHARLES, to increaſe more the flouriſhing ſtate of this kingdom, in ſtrength, wealth and civility.

Theſe were the ſcope of ſo many wholeſome laws and ſtatutes, voted in the laſt parliament; of ſo many proviſions of ſtate, regulating the diſorders of human ſociety, daily iſſuing from your Solomon-like preſcience; in which and by which, we, in this your garden of Ireland, ſmell the gracious

flowers of your government, enjoy the felicity of your plantations, and feed our hearts with the ſatiety of preſent, and hope of future improvement; ſo that no place, no degree, no ſex over all this pleaſant paradiſe, but is partaker of your comfortable influence; even thoſe choaked up in the midſt of the darkeſt priſons, acknowledge the ſunſhine of your provident care, and receiving new life and relief from your hands, cry out—Long live our life, our relief, noble Wentworth!—

The widows and orphans oppreſſed find you a propitious patron; the nobility, a mirrour of honour and worth; the warlike, a town of arms, and flower of martial diſcipline; the eccleſiaſtical dignitaries, their reformer, their advancer; and all acknowledge you to be the true receptacle of virtue, and other the beſt attributes of perfection.

To abbreviate my diſcourſe, leſt offenſive to your much honoured ears, deign me the favour, that while the ſuffrages of ſo many provinces and cities; the acclamations of the common people; the general applauſe of Ireland, and approbation of your gracious leige and ſovereign ſo concentric meet with the celebration of thoſe your matchleſs endowments, I may, right honourable, revolve into our firſt principles of your honour and worth, and riſing on the wings of adorned eloquence, to force to the mount and zenith of your beſt merits, to flutter after you with the beſt wiſhes of all my citizens, by redoubling in your preſence and abſence the oracle of God, my king and country, that we have juſt cauſe, and that we muſt honour

THOMAS WENTWORTH."

But

But little worth recording happened in Kilkenny until that memorable æra in the annals of Ireland, the breaking out of the Grand Rebellion in 1641. The cauſes leading to this dire event, and the tranſactions conſequent thereon, have been minutely detailed by many writers. In 1641, and for a few years ſucceeding, this city was alternately the ſeat of buſineſs and tumult; in 1641, lord Mountgarret (*c*) with the mayor and aldermen ſtood by, with three hundred citizens armed, while every proteſtant was plundered; and in 1642, the Confederate Catholics, as they ſtyled themſelves, met in Kilkenny.

It was abſolutely (*d*) neceſſary, that the rebels ſhould have the form of an authority eſtabliſhed among them, to make the orders of ſuperiours obeyed, and prevent that confuſion and thoſe miſchiefs which always attend competitions for power, and uncertainty in the right to command; this was done in the general aſſembly of deputies from all the provinces in the kingdom, which met the 24th of October 1642 at Kilkenny.

The firſt act, after their meeting, was to proteſt, that they did not mean that aſſembly to be a parliament; confeſſing, that the calling, proroguing and diſſolving that great body was an inſeparable incident to the crown, upon which they would not encroach: but it was only a meeting to conſult of an order for their own affairs, until his majeſty's wiſdom had ſettled the preſent troubles. They formed it, however, according to the plan of a parliament, conſiſting of two houſes; in the one of which ſat the eſtate ſpiritual, compoſed of biſhops

(*c*) Cox, pag. 73. (*d*) Carte, ſupra.

and prelates, together with the temporal lords, and in the other the deputies of the counties and towns, as the eſtate of the commons, by themſelves.

The meeting was at the houſe of Mr. Robert Shee, ſon of Sir Richard Shee, now Mr. Langford's in Coal market; the lords, prelates and commons all in one room; Mr. Patrick Darcy, bare-headed upon a ſtool, repreſenting all or ſome of the judges and maſters of chancery that uſed to ſit in parliament upon wool-ſacks; Mr. Nicholas Plunket repreſented the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and both lords and commons addreſſed their ſpeech to him; the lords had an upper room, which ſerved them as a place of receſs, for private conſultation, and when they had taken their reſolutions, the ſame were delivered to the commons by Mr. Darcy.

The clergy, who were not qualified by their titular ſees or abbies to ſit in the houſe of lords, met in an houſe called the convocation, where it was reported among the laity, that they only handled matters of tythe and ſettling church poſſeſſions; in which points ſo little deference was paid to their debates, and their proceedings were treated with ſo much contempt by the lay-impropriators and gentlemen, that the provincial of the Auguſtins was hiſſed out of the houſe, for threatening to wipe off the duſt from his feet and thoſe of his friars, and to bend his courſe beyond the ſeas, if the poſſeſſions of his order were not reſtored.

For the rule of their government they profeſſed to receive Magna Charta, and the common and ſtatute law of England, in all points, not contrary to the Roman Catholic religion, or inconſiſtent with

the

the liberty of Ireland. Several judicatories were eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the regulation of all affairs; each county had its council, conſiſting of one or two deputies out of each barony, and where there was no barony, of twelve perſons choſen by the county in general, with powers to decide all matters cognizable by juſtices of the peace, pleas of the crown, ſuits for debts and perſonal actions, and to reſtore poſſeſſions uſurped ſince the war; to name all the county officers, except the high-ſheriff, who was to be choſen by the ſupreme council out of three, which the council of the county were to recommend. From theſe lay an appeal to the provincial councils, which conſiſted of two deputies out of each county, and were to meet four times a year, or oftener, if there was occaſion, to examine the judgments of the county councils, to decide all ſuits like judges of aſſize, to eſtabliſh recent poſſeſſions, but not to meddle with other ſuits about lands, except in caſes of dower.

From theſe there lay a further appeal to the ſupreme council of twenty-four perſons, choſen by the general aſſembly, of which twelve were to be conſtantly reſident in Kilkenny, or wherever elſe they ſhould judge it to be moſt expedient, with equal voices, but two-thirds to conclude the reſt; never fewer than nine to ſit in council, and ſeven to concur in the ſame opinion; out of theſe twenty-four a preſident was to be named by the aſſembly, and was to be always one of the twelve reſident, and in caſe of death, ſickneſs or abſence, the other reſidents,

reſidents, out of the twenty four, were to chuſe a preſident.

The council was veſted with power over all generals, military officers and civil magiſtrates, who were to obey their orders, and ſend duly an account of their actions and proceedings; to determine all matters left undecided by the general aſſembly, their acts to be of force until reſcinded by the next aſſembly: to command and puniſh all commanders of forces, magiſtrates and all others, of what rank and condition ſoever; to hear and judge all capital and criminal cauſes (except titles to lands) and to do all kind of acts for promoting the common cauſe of the confederacy, and the good of the kingdom, and relating to the ſupport and management of the war.

(e) On the firſt of November, they appointed

Lord Caſtlehaven,	Richard Martin,
Lord Gormanſtown,	Feigh O Flin,
Doctor Fennell,	Richard Beling,
Col. Dermot O Brien,	Adam Cuſack,
Sir Lucas Dillon,	James Mc Donel,
Sir Phelim O Neil,	Patrick Crelley,
Thomas Burke,	Rory Maguire,

Patrick Darcy, and the lawyers, a committee, who drew up the preceding form of government; and on the fourth, the prelates enjoined the prieſts to adminiſter an oath of aſſociation to their pariſhioners, and take their ſubſcriptions; and on the fourteenth they named their ſupreme council,

LORD

(e) Cox, pag. 126.

LORD VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET, Preſident.

For Leinſter.	For Connaught.
Archbiſhop of Dublin,	Archbiſhop of Tuam,
Lord Viſ. Gormanſtown,	Lord Viſcount Mayo,
Lord Viſ. Mountgarret,	Biſhop of Clonfert,
Nicholas Plunket,	Sir Lucas Dillon,
Richard Beling,	Patrick Darcy,
James Cuſack.	Jeffrey Brown.
For Munſter.	**For Ulſter.**
Lord Viſcount Roche,	Archbiſhop of Armagh,
Sir Daniel O Brien,	Biſhop of Down,
Edmond Fitzmorres,	Phillip O Reilly,
Doctor Fennél,	Col. Mac Mahon,
Robert Lambert,	Ever Magennis,
George Comyn.	Tirlagh O Neil,

They uſed a ſeal *(f)*, which is thus deſcribed; it had a long croſs in the center, on the right ſide of it was a crown, and on the left an harp, with a dove above the croſs, and a flaming heart under it; and round it was this inſcription,

"Pro Deo, pro Rege et patria Hibernia, unanimis."

The conduct of the war is no part of our preſent concern, but we muſt remark, that the Franciſcans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Jeſuits now claimed their antient poſſeſſions, and were generally reinſtated; for one of the principal objects of this war was, the re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe orders, and the Romiſh hierarchy; that this point was accompliſhed, we learn from a letter written by the confederates in 1644 to the pope; wherein among other enumerations of their good fortune *(g)*, they exultingly

(f) Borlaſe's Iriſh Rebellion, pag. 97. They coined money.
(g) Burke, Hibern. Dominic. Append. pag. 876.

exultingly obſerve: "Jam Deus optimus maximus catholico ritu palam colitur; dum cathedrales pleræque ſuis antiſtibus; parochiales parochis; religioſorum multa cænobia propriis gaudent alumnis."

And in 1645, when the catholics had poſſeſſed themſelves of almoſt all the churches in the kingdom, one of their articles with the earl of Glamorgan was, that they ſhould retain the churches, which they, de facto, held. A printing preſs was ſet up in Kilkenny, at which all the ſtate papers were printed: Doctor Burke, in his hiſtory of the Dominican order, refers to many of them; and it ſeems large collections of them exiſt in the Iriſh ſeminaries at Rome.

The kingdom, after more than three years of anarchy and deſolation, exhibited a diſmal ſpectacle of religious tyranny and confuſion, and gladly repoſed itſelf in the arms of peace. Articles for this purpoſe were ſigned by the marquis of Ormond and the confederates; but the happy proſpect of concord was diſturbed by that reſtleſs and ambitious eccleſiaſtic, Rinuccini, the pope's nuncio; he came in a frigate of 22 guns, and landed in Kerry the twenty-ſecond of October 1645, with twenty-ſix Italians in his cortege; he brought 2000 muſkets, 4000 bandaleers, 2000 ſwords, 500 pair of piſtols, 10,000 pounds of gunpowder; and from another frigate were landed ſix deſks and trunks of Spaniſh gold; with theſe he haſtened to Kilkenny, and on the nineteenth of November had his audience in the caſtle, and declared the reaſons of his coming, which were

1. To

1. To eſtabliſh the Roman catholic religion.

2. To preſerve their liberties, and

3. To ſerve their prince and ſovereign, which laſt he expreſſed with (*h*) ſingular emphaſis, thus: "Et ſereniſſimo veſtro principi meipſum devoveo."

He ſaid high maſs in the cathedral of St. Canice on the thirtieth of November, being St. Andrew's day.

The nuncio reprobated the peace, and was joined by many biſhops, particularly by David Roth of Oſſory, who laid the city and ſuburbs of Kilkenny under the following interdict.

"Whereas (*i*) we have in publick and private meetings, at ſeveral times, declared to the ſupreme council and others whom it might concern, that it was and is unlawful and againſt conſcience, the implying perjury (as it hath been by the ſpecial act of the congregation at Waterford) to both commonwealths, ſpiritual and temporal, to do or concur to any act tending to the approbation or countenancing the publication of this unlawful and miſchievous peace, ſo dangerous (as it is now articled) to both commonwealths, ſpiritual and temporal. And whereas notwithſtanding our declaration, yea the declaration of the whole clergy of the kingdom to the contrary, the ſupreme council and the commiſſioners have actually proceeded to the publication, yea and forcing it upon the city, by terror and threats, rather than by any free conſent or deſire of the people.

We

(*h*) A pamphlet containing intercepted letters, 1645.

(*i*) Borlaſe, pag. 163. Who preſerves many papers printed in Kilkenny.

We having duly conſidered and taken it to heart, as it becometh us, how enormous this fact is, and appears in catholics, even againſt God himſelf, and what a publick contempt of the holy church it appeareth, beſide the evil it is likely to draw upon this poor kingdom; after a mature deliberation and conſent of our clergy, in deteſtation of this heinous and ſcandalous diſobedience of the ſupreme council, and others who adhered to them, in matter of conſcience to the holy church, and in hatred of ſo ſinful and abominable an act, do by theſe preſents, according to the preſcription of the ſacred canons, pronounce and command henceforth a general ceſſation of divine offices, throughout all the city and ſuburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, monaſteries and houſes in them whatſoever.

Given at our palace of Nova Curia,

Signed,

18th of Aug. 1646. DAVID OSSORIENSIS."

The general aſſembly of confederate catholics met in Kilkenny, the tenth of January 1647, and took the former oath of aſſociation with ſome new clauſes. We will here give the (*k*) names of the repreſentatives of the lords and commons.

Spiritual Peers.

Hugh O Reiley, archbiſhop of Armagh,
Thomas Walſh, archbiſhop of Dublin,
Patrick Comerford, biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore,
John Burk, biſhop of Clonfert,
John O Mollony, biſhop of Killaloe,
Richard Conell, biſhop of Ardfert,

Emer

(*k*) Burke, Hibern. Dominic. pag. 884.

Emer Matthews, biſhop of Clogher,
Nicholas French, biſhop of Ferns,
Edmond O Dempſey, biſhop of Leighlin,
Edmund O Duyer, biſhop of Limerick,
Arthur Magennis, biſhop of Down and Connor.

Temporal Peers.

Alexander Mac Donnel, earl of Antrim,
Chriſtopher Plunket, earl of Fingal,
Maurice Roche, viſcount Fermoy,
Richard Butler, viſcount Mountgarret,
Theobald Dillon, viſcount Coſtellogallen,
John Netterville, viſcount Netterville,
Donat Macarthy, viſcount Muſkery,
Pierce Butler, viſcount Ikerrin,
Lewis O Dempſey, viſcount Clanmalier,
Edward Butler, viſcount Galmoy,
Francis Bermingham, baron of Athenry,
Bryan Fitzpatrick, baron of Upper Oſſory,
Oliver Plunket, baron of Louth,
William Burk, baron of Caſtle-connel.

Commons.

John Allen of Allenſtown,
Patrick Archer of Kilkenny,
Walter Archer of Kilkenny,
Clement Aſh of Elliſtown,
Patrick Babe of Drumſkyne,
John Baggot of Baggotstown,
Walter Bagnal of Dunleckny,
George Barnwall of Kingstown,
Henry Barnwall of Caſtle Rickard,
James Barnwall,
Geoffry Baron of Clonmell,
Gerald Barry of Liſgriffin,
Peter Bath Fitz Robert, late of Dublin,
Peter Bath of Kilkenny,
Robert Bath of Clanturk,
Robert Bath, late of Dublin,
John Bellew of Liſfranny,
Richard Belling of Tyrrelstown,
Chriſtopher Bermingham of Corballis,
Edward Bermingham of Curraghton,

John

John Bermingham of Galway,
William Bermingham of Parſonſtown,
Bryan Birne of Ballynacorr,
Bryan Birne of Rodine,
James Birne of Ballyaccide,
John Birne of Ballyglan,
Francis Blake of Galway,
Dominick Bodkin of Galway,
John Brennan of Cloynefinlogh,
Hugh Brin of Corrinon,
Edward Browne of Galway,
Geoffry Browne of Galway,
Sylveſter Browne of Dublin,
Patrick Bryan of Liſmayne,
John Burk of Caſtle Caroe,
Richard Burk of Drumruiſk,
Richard Burk of Shillewly,
Theobald Burk of Buolyburk,
Ulick Burk of Glinſk,
William Burk of Pollardstown,
Edmund Butler of Idough,
James Butler of Swyneone,
John Butler of Foulſterstown,
Pierce Butler of Baneſeagh,
Pierce Butler of Barrowmount,
Pierce Butler of Cahir,
Walter Butler of Paulſtown,
Connell Carve of Allobarnayre,
Arthur Cheevers of Ballyſeſkin,
Peter Clinton of Dollyſtown,
Anthony Colclough of Rathelir,
Edward Comerford of Callan,
George Comyn of Limerick,
Andrew Cowley Kilkenny,
Walter Cruiſe of Arlonan,
James Cuſack of Kilkenny,
Patrick Darcy of Galway,
Barnabas Dempſey of Clonehork,
Nicholas Devereux of Ballymager,
Robert Devereux of Ballyſhannon,
Edmond Dillon of Streamstown,
James Dillon of Clonegaſſel,
John Dillon of Streamſtown,
Lucas Dillon of Loughglin,
Allen Donnell of Montagh,
Michael Dormer of Roſs,
Walter Dougan of Caſtletown,
Lawrence Dowdall of Athlumney,
James Doyle of Carrig,
Terence Doyne of Kilkenan,
Patrick Duffe of Roſſpatrick,
Richard Everard of Everard's caſtle,
Stephen Fallon of Athlone,
William Fallon of Milltown,
Geoffry Fanning of Gleanagall,
Patrick Fanning of Limerick,

Gerald

Gerald Fennell of Ballygriffin,
John Finglaſs of Walſpelstown,
Chriſtopher Fitzgerald of Coynelunan,
Edmond Fitzgerald of Ballymartyr,
Edmond Fitzgerald of Brounsford,
Gerald Fitzgerald of Clonyad,
Gerald Fitzgerald of Timogue,
Henry Fitzgerald of Ticroghan,
Luke Fitzgerald of Ticroghan,
Mathew Fitzgerald of Gobinſtown,
Maurice Fitzgerald of Allone,
Nicholas Fitzgerald of Marmayne,
Pierce Fitzgerald of Ballyſhannon,
Thomas Fitzgerald of Bonneysford,
Mark Fitzharris of Cloghinotfoy,
Nicholas Fitzharris of Roſs,
Edmond Fitzmaurice of Tyoburry,
Gerald Fitzmaurice of Goby,
Florence Fitzpatrick of Liſdunvearney,
Philip Flattiſbury of Dremanſtown,
Thomas Fleming of Cabragh,
Fiagher Flin of Ballilagha,
Chriſtopher French of Galway,
James French of Galway,
Mark Furlong of Wexford,
John Garvey of Lehons,
Charles Gilmore,
John Goold of Cork,
Patrick Gough of Kilmanihane,
John Hadſor of Keppett,
John Haly of Limerick,
Nicholas Haly of Towryne,
Robert Hartpole,
Nicholas Hay of Wexford,
Charles Heneſſy of Catergyn,
Thomas Heynes of Feathard,
Daniel Higgins of Limerick,
William Hoare of Cork,
William Hoare of Harriſtown,
Chriſtopher Hollywood of Tartane,
Alexander Hope of Ballymacfearagh,
John Hope of Martinſtown,
Matthew Hore of Dungarvan,
Maurice Hurley of Kilduffe,
Edmond Kealy of Gowran,
William Kealy of Gowran,
Daniel Keefe of Dromagh,
Eneas Kinſly of Ballynecarrigy,
Patrick Kerwan of Galway,
John Lacy of Bruff,
Denis Lalor of Ballywoy,
William Langton of Kilkenny,
Martin Lynch of Galway,
Nicholas Lynch of Galway,
Robuck Lynch of Galway,
Nicholas

Nicholas Mac Alpin of Moy,
Hugh Mac Cartan of Lorgline,
Charles Mc. Carthy Riagh,
Dermot Mc. Carthy of Cantwyrk,
Thady Mac Carthy of Kilfallyway,
James Mac Donnell of Muff,
Charles Mc Geoghegan of Dromore,
Conly Mc Geoghegan of Donore,
Edward Mc Geoghegan of Tyrotorine,
Richard Mc Geoghegan of Moycaſhell,
Daniel Macnemara of Downe,
John Macnemara of Moyriorſky,
Arthur Magennis of Ballynaferney,
Connell Magennis of Liſnatierny,
Daniel Magennis of Glaſca,
Ever Magennis of Caſtlewellan,
Hugh Magennis of Illanimoyle,
Anthony Martin of Galway,
Roger More of Ballynakill,
Roger Nangle of Glynmore,
Patrick Netterville of Belgart,
Richard Netterville,
Pierce Nugent of Ballynecurr,
Thady O Body,
Tirlogh O Boyle of Ballymore,
Connor O Bryen of Ballynacody,
Dermot O Bryen of Dromore,
Callaghan O Callaghan of Caſtle Mc Auliff,
Donat O Callaghan of Clonmeene,
Daniel O Cavanagh of Cloynmulbin,
Murtagh O Cavanagh of Garryhill,
Daniel O Connor of Quelleane,
Thady O Connor Roe of Ballynafad,
Thady O Connor Sligo,
Hugh O Donnell of Rumalton,
Edward O Dowde of Porterſtown,
Thady O Dowde of Roſburr,
Philip O Dwyer of Dundrum,
Daniel O Farrell of Enniſcorthy,
Fergus O Farrell of Bleanvohir,
Francis O Farrell of Moate,
Thady O Hanly of Colerane,
James O Kearney of Ballyluſkey,
Daniel O Kelly of Colengeere,
John O Kelly of Corbeg,
Patrick O Komelty of Dungannon,
Henry O Neil of Kilbeg,
Phelim O Neil of Morley,
Turlogh

Turlogh O Neil of Ardgoneil,
Francis O Ronane of Kilkenny,
Hugh O Rourke of Coonarenea,
Thomas O Ryan of Doone,
Dermot O Shaughneſſy of Gort,
OSullevan-More of Downekyrane,
Daniel O Sullevan of Culmagort,
Nicholas Plunket of Belrath,
David Poore of Clonemore,
John Power of Kilmacdan,
James Prendergaſt of Tullovellane,
James Preſton of Gormanstown,
Robert Preſton of Gormanstown,
Thomas Preſton,
Robert Purcell of Curry,
Charles Reynolde of Jamestown,
Edward Rice of Dingle,
David Roche of Glanore,
John Roche of Caſtletown,
Redmond Roche of Cahirdowgan,
Hugh Rochfort of Tagonan,
John Rochfort of Kilbride,
George Ruſſel of Rathmolin,
Chriſtopher St. Lawrence of Crucetown,
Nicholas Sankey of Ballytarkin,
Edward Shee of Kilkenny,
Robert Shee Fitz William of Kilkenny,
Walter Shee of Trim,
Bartholemew Stackpole of Limerick,
Richard Stafford Fitz Richard of Wexford,
Richard Strange of Rockswell caſtle,
William Sutton of Ballcroge,
Robert Talbot of Caſtle Talbot,
Thomas Tyrrell of Kilbride,
Richard Wadding of Ballycogly,
Thomas Wadding of Waterford,
John Walſh of Ballybechayne,
John Walſh of Waterford,
Alexander Warren of Churchtown,
Edmund Warren, late of Dublin,
William Warren of Caſhelltown,
James Weldon of Newry,
John White of Clonmell,
Nicholas Wogan of Rathcoffy,
Francis Wolverſton of Newtown,
William Young of Caſhel,

Spiritual Peers - -	11
Temporal Peers -	14
Commons - -	226
Total	251

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding the efforts of the wiſer and more moderate part, the confederates found it impoſſible to eſtabliſh a permanent form of government; diſorder reigned in their councils, the people caught the contagion, and every day was marked with ſome dangerous tumult. The friars took an active part. In 1648, Paul King (*l*), a Franciſcan and a zealous nuncioniſt, formed a party among the deluded inhabitants of Kilkenny to betray the city and the ſupreme council into the hands of Rinuccini and O Neil, which however did not ſucceed. (*m*) The next year Redmond Carron, commiſſary general of the Recollects, being at Kilkenny and ſiding with the loyal catholics againſt the nuncio and his adherents, and endeavouring to remove one Brennan and other ſeditious friars from the city, was put in danger of his life, had not the earl of Caſtlehaven arrived with ſome friends, in the very inſtant of time to ſave him. On this (*n*) occaſion, thouſands of men and women in the duſk of the evening, being collected by ſeven or eight furious Franciſcans of the nuncio's party, and being worked up to madneſs by their lies, attempted to force into St. Francis's abbey, and to murder Caron, John Barnwall reader of divinity, Anthony Gearnon guardian of Dundalk, James Fitzſimon guardian of Multifernan, Patrick Plunket confeſſor to the poor Clares of Athlone, and Peter Walſh reader of divinity in that convent, although this Walſh, in 1646, had ſaved both mayor and aldermen

(*l*) Ware's writers, pag. 141.
(*m*) Ware ſupra, pag. 145.
(*n*) Walſh's hiſt. of the remonſtrance, pag. 587.

aldermen from being hanged, and the city from being plundered by Owen O Neil.

The parliament of England, turning their attention to the diſtracted ſtate of Ireland, ſent over, in the perſon of Oliver Cromwell, a lord lieutenant who was able to correct its diſorders.

On the twenty-third of March 1650, Cromwell came before Kilkenny, on the ſide of the black quarry, and ſent this ſummons that evening (o):

" Gentlemen,

My coming hither is to endeavour, if God pleaſeth, the reduction of the city of Kilkenny and your obedience to the ſtate of England. For the unheard of maſſacre of the innocent Engliſh, God hath begun to judge you with his ſore plague, ſo will he follow you, until he deſtroy you, if you repent not. Your cauſe hath been already judged in England upon them who did abett your evils, what may the principals then expect? By this free dealing, you ſee I intice you to a compliance; you may have terms; may ſave your lives, liberties and eſtates, according to what will be fitting for me to grant, and you to receive. If you chuſe for the worſe, blame yourſelves. In confidence of the gracious bleſſings and preſence of God with his own cauſe, which this is by many teſtimonies, I ſhall hope for a good iſſue upon my endeavours; expecting a return from you, I reſt your ſervant,

O. CROMWELL."

To the Governor, Mayor, &c.

(o) Borlaſe Iriſh Rebellion.

To this Sir Walter Butler anſwered:

" Sir,

Your letter I have received, and in anſwer thereof, I am commanded to maintain this city for his majeſty, which, by the power of God, I am reſolved to do, ſo I reſt, Sir,

Your ſervant,

WALTER BUTLER."

Kilkenny, 23d March, 1650.

Lord Caſtlehaven had appointed Sir Walter Butler, governor of the city, with two hundred horſe and a thouſand foot, but they were reduced by the plague to three hundred. This circumſtance Cromwell hints at. On the 24th, he ſurrounded the place, and in the evening attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of Iriſhtown, but was beaten off and forced to retire; his cannon began between five and ſix o'clock on the 25th, to batter the end of the marquis of Ormond's ſtables, between the caſtle gate and the rampart, and having continued firing until twelve, he aſſaulted the breach; his men were twice beaten off, and could not be perſuaded to make a third attack; the breach was repaired, and Cromwell was on the point of raiſing the ſiege, when the mayor and townſmen invited him to ſtay, and aſſured him they would receive him into the city; upon this he appointed a party to ſet upon Iriſhtown in the evening, which was manned by ſome of the citizens, the beſt part of the garriſon being employed about the breach; the citizens immediately deſerted their poſts, without ſtriking a ſtroke, and Cromwell taking poſſeſſion of the cathedral

cathedral and the other parts of Iriſhtown, lodged there that night.

On the 27th he began to break the wall of the Franciſcan abbey, near the river ſide, with pick-axes, to make way for his horſe and foot to enter; that poſt being alſo guarded by townſmen only, they began to forſake it, when the governor gave orders to a party of horſe to alight and leading them on, beat off the enemy, and killed moſt of thoſe that were near the wall, and put an end to their efforts there; at the ſame time an attempt was made to burn the gate on St. John's bridge, but there the enemy were likewiſe repulſed with the loſs of many officers and ſoldiers.

Next day Cromwell was joined by Ireton with 1500 freſh men, and Sir Walter Butler, conſidering the weakneſs of the garriſon, few in number and thoſe worn out for want of reſt by continual watching, and hopeleſs of relief, determined to execute lord Caſtlehaven's orders; which were, that if they were not relieved by ſeven o'clock the day before, he ſhould not, for any punctilio of honour, expoſe the townſmen to be maſſacred, but make as good conditions as he could, by a timely ſurrender. A parley was beaten, a ceſſation agreed on at twelve o'clock the next day, when the town and caſtle were delivered up on the following conditions:

ARTICLES

Of agreement between the commiſſioners appointed by his excellency, the lord Cromwell, lord lieutenant general of Ireland, for and on behalf of his excellency of the one part, and thoſe appointed commiſſioners by the reſpective

governor of the city and caſtle of Kilkenny, of the other part, March 28th, 1650.

I. That the reſpective governor of the city of Kilkenny ſhall deliver up to his excellency the lord Cromwell, lord lieutenant of Ireland, for the uſe of the ſtate of England, the ſaid city and caſtle, with all arms, ammunition and proviſions of public ſtores therein, without embezzlement, except what is hereafter excepted, at or before nine of the clock to-morrow morning.

II. That all the inhabitants of the ſaid city of Kilkenny, and all others therein, ſhall be defended in their perſons, goods and eſtates from the violence of the ſoldiers; and that ſuch as ſhall deſire to remove thence elſewhere, ſhall have liberty ſo to do, with their goods, within three months after the date of theſe articles.

III. That the ſaid governor with all the officers and ſoldiers under his command in the ſaid city and caſtle, and all others, who ſhall be ſo pleaſed, ſhall march away at, or before nine of the clock to-morrow morning, with their bag and baggage: the officers and their attendants with their horſes and arms, not exceeding one hundred and fifty horſes; and their foot ſoldiers to march out of the town, two miles diſtant with their arms, and with their drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted; and then and there to deliver up the ſaid arms to ſuch as ſhall be appointed for receiving them, except an hundred muſkets and an hundred pikes allowed them for their defence againſt the tories.

IV. That the ſaid officers and ſoldiers ſhall have from his excellency a ſafe conduct, ſix miles from the

the city of Kilkenny; and from thence a paſs, to be in force for ſix days, they marching at leaſt ten miles each day, and doing no prejudice to quarters.

V. That the city of Kilkenny ſhall pay 2000*l.* as a gratuity to his excellency's army: whereof a 1000*l.* to be paid on the 30th of this month, and the other on the firſt day of May, to ſuch as ſhall be by his excellency appointed. That major Comerford and Mr. Edward Roth ſhall remain hoſtages, under the power of his excellency for the performance of ſaid articles, on the part of the ſaid city and garriſon of Kilkenny.

And laſtly, for the performance of all and ſingular the ſaid articles, both parties have hereunto interchangeably put their hands, the day and year above written.

O. Cromwell.

Edward Cowly, John Comerford,
Edward Roth, David Turnball.

Sir Walter Butler and the officers when they marched out were complimented by Cromwell, who ſaid: "That they were gallant fellows: that he had loſt more men in ſtorming that place, than he had in taking Drogheda, and that he ſhould have gone without it, had it not been for the treachery of the townſmen."

Cromwell appointed col. Axtel *(p)*, governor, with a conſiderable garriſon. The plague raging in Dublin, Ireton, in 1651, wintered in *(q)* Kilkenny; and the next year, Fleetwood, on his arrival

(p) Borlaſe, pag. 255. *(q)* Borlaſe, pag. 282.

arrival (*r*), took up his reſidence in this city, for the ſame reaſon.

On the 4th October, 1652, a high commiſſion court was held in Kilkenny before juſtice Donellan, juſtice Cooke and commiſſary Reynolds.

On the reſtoration of Charles II. Kilkenny reſumed and exerciſed its chartered rights, and every thing wore a tranquil appearance. In 1666, England being engaged in a war with Holland, there were ſixty-nine Dutch priſoners ſent to Kilkenny from (*s*) Waterford and other ſea-ports, for greater ſecurity.

In 1672, Nicholas (*t*) Loghnan petitioned the privy council of Ireland in behalf of himſelf and other citizens of Kilkenny, and ſtated, that in a ſmall aſſembly of aldermen and common-councilmen, a reſolution was made of charging each perſon who ſtood in the market with commodities, three half pence every time, for murage, pavage, &c. The petitioner alledged, that the cuſtoms and duties of the market, amounting to above one hundred pounds per annum, were appropriated to theſe uſes, and were ſufficient to repair the ſtreets, walls and bridges. Beſides, that the corporation was endowed by royal grants, with three intire abbies, with their lands and livings, and ſeveral rich impropriations, to the value of four or five hundred pounds yearly, but that theſe revenues were ſunk very much by embezzlement.

He therefore prayed that the diſtreſſes taken in purſuance of the above reſolution may be reſtored.

On

(*r*) Borlaſe, pag. 302.
(*t*) Laffan's MSS.
(*s*) Laffan's MSS.

On this petition, the lord lieutenant and council made this order:

" 3d Jan. 1672.

We require the mayor and aldermen of Kilkenny within mentioned, by themſelves or their agents ſufficiently inſtructed and authorized, to appear and anſwer the within complaint.

Eſſex,
Ja. Armachanus,
Mich. Dublin. Can.
Donegall,
O Bryen,
Thomond,
Herbert,
Cha. Meredyth,
Hen. Ford."

This put an end to this illegal impoſition.

King James II. when he was new chartering the different corporate towns in the kingdom, to anſwer his wretched views, did not forget Kilkenny. The corporation, before the year 1687, conſiſted of ſeven companies, but by the new charter they were reduced to five. The (*u*) expence of this charter was 260*l.* but 305*l.* were raiſed. There were now to be twenty-four aldermen, beſides the mayor, two ſheriffs and a chamberlain with thirty-ſix burgeſſes, a recorder and town clerk, who was alſo prothonotary and clerk of the peace and crown.

John

(*u*) Laffan's MSS.

John Roth, MAYOR.

ALDERMEN.

Richard Viſc. Mountgarret,
John Grace, eſq;
Edward Roth, merchant,
Marmaduke Shee Fitz-Richard, eſq;
David Roth, eſq;
Edmond Shee, eſq;
Walter Lawleſs, eſq;
James Bryan, eſq;
Nicholas Shee, eſq;
Thomas Butler, gent.
Henry Archer, eſq;
Valentine Smith, gent.
Michael Roth, gent.
John Haydock, apothecary,
Francis Rowlidge, gent.
William Archer, merch.
Thomas Young, vintner,
John Archdekin, merch.
Samuel Philips, gent.
John Shee, merch.
John Nowlan, merch.
James Rafter, gent.
Joſhua Helſham, gent.
Michael Bryan, gent.

SHERIFFS.

Luke Shee, merch.
John Archdekin, junior, merch.

CHAMBERLAIN.

Peter Archdekin, merch.

BURGESSES.

Robert Knareſborough, merch.
James St. Leger, merch.
William Kimberly, enſign,
William Badge, gent.
Thomas Cookeſey, gent.
Griffith Williams, gardener,
John Garnett, baker,
John Murphy, gent.
Geoffry St. Leger, gent.
Mark Knareſborough, merch.
William Shee, gent.
John Ley, gent.
Bernard Shee, gent.
Matthew Roth, merch.
Thomas Duffe, merch.
Peter Archdekin, merch.
Peter Shee, merch.
Michael Forſtall, gent.
John Wall, merch.
Luke Cuſack, merch.
Robert Roth, gent.
John Donphy, merch.
Martin Smith, merch.
Edward Caddow, merch.
Nicholas Ley, merch.
Edw. Fitzgerald, merch.

Nic.

Nic. Langton, merch.
Patrick Caddow, merch.
Iſaac Mukins, merch.
Thomas Philips, tanner,
Peter Shee Fitz Pierce, merch.
James Archer, merch.
Robert Garret, gent.
Marcus Shee Fitz Thomas, merch.
George Birch, gent.
David Fanning, merch.
Robert Dixon, RECORDER.
James Lawleſs, TOWN CLERK, PROTHONOTARY, and CLERK of the PEACE and CROWN (*w*);
With a SWORD BEARER, a MACE BEARER, and NINE ATTORNIES.

A Rent Roll (*x*) of the revenues payable to the corporation of Kilkenny for the year 1688.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Duke of Ormond, one year's chief rent	40	0	0
Alderman John Nowlan, for the rectory of Jerpoint - -	30	0	0
Henry Bradiſh, for the rectory of Claragh	22	10	0
Thomas Lawleſs, for the rectory of Minkully - -	10	0	0
Capt. St. George and Mr. Goare, for the rectory of Tubrid -	15	0	0
Balthazar Cramer, for the rectory of Kilmodun - -	7	0	0
Aſſigns of Bartholomew Connor, for the rectory of Skirk -	10	0	0
Sir Henry Wemys, for the rectory of Danesfort - -	15	0	0
Alderman Burrel's executors, for part of Walkin's green -	0	10	0

Ald.

(*w*) This liſt was taken from the patent rolls of the high court of Chancery. Vide Harris's life of king William, app. page viii.
(*x*) Laffan's MSS.

	l.	s.	d.
Ald. Connel's executors, for his holding in Glandoyne	4	0	0
James Bryan, for the rectory of Jenkinstown	1	0	0
Sir William Evans, for the rectory of St. John's	26	0	0
The ſame, for Kilderry meadows	0	10	0
The ſame, for chappel	20	0	0
Jonas Wheeler, for Magdalane's land	15	0	0
William Den, for the third part of Brownſtown	2	5	0
Sir William Evans, for Drakeland	9	0	0
Col. Warden's executors, for Liſnefonchin	20	0	0
Sir Richard Bulkeley, for part of the Dominican abbey	2	10	0
Joſias Haydocke, for Prior's orchard	1	0	0
Aſſigns of Ald. Connor, for his holdings in the Tholſel	4	0	0
Executors of Mr. Tobin, for his penthouſe	1	5	0
Aſſigns of Cath. Evans, for her holding in the Franciſcan abbey	2	0	0
Francis Bradiſh, for part of the Dominican lands	1	0	0
Aſſigns of Ald. Connor, for his holding in St. John's	7	0	0
Ald. Rowlidge, for part of St. John's demeſnes	2	15	0
Luke Dormer, for the rectory of New Roſs	14	0	0
Duke of Ormond, for lands in St. John's	1	0	0
Aſſigns of Mr. Hogg, for Artsgregane	0	12	0
William Jones, for Watergate	0	10	0

Mr.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Mr. Barry, for his five foote in the ſtreet	0	5	0
Aſſigns of Mr. Synnot, for part of the Dominican demeſne -	0	15	0
Myles Goodin, for the Black abbey gate-houſe - -	0	5	0
Alderman Philips, for his holding in St. John's - -	1	0	0
Aſſigns of Ald. Connor, for an incroach-ment in the ſtreet -	0	5	0
Mr. Toovey's penthouſe -	0	5	0
Samuel Booth, for part of St. James's green - -	1	10	0
Aſſigns of Ald. Goodin, for part of the manſe lands of Minkully -	1	2	6
Patrick Murphy, for land near Troy's gate - -	0	13	4
Charles Woolley, for his holding	0	10	0
Alderman Connel, for lands in Green ſtreet - -	1	5	0
William Jackſon, for a waſte in St. Kyran's well - -	0	10	0
Richard Nun, for the lands of Bally-garvey - -	5	0	0
Alderman Cookſey, for his leaſe in St. James's ſtreet - -	0	10	0
Mr. Tozier, for St. John's gate and his incroachment in High ſtreet -	0	9	0
Archdeacon Dryſdall, for his holding in James's ſtreet - -	1	0	0
James Dowdall, for a waſte in Walkin ſtreet - -	0	2	6
Nicholas White, for the lands of Thromer, co. Wexford - -	0	10	0

Mr.

	l.	s.	d.
Mr. Badge, for a waſte in St. John's	0	1	0
Alderman Helſham, for his holdings	0	13	4
Peter Grace and William Grace, for two ſtalls - -	2	0	0
Edward Duberly, for the ſixth ſtall	1	0	0
James Murphy and Thomas Brehon, for the ſeventh and eighth ſtalls -	2	0	0
For other ſtalls - - -	7	0	0
The total of the City's annual revenue	£.313	18	8

In 1689 a (y) militia was formed in Kilkenny.

The mayor, John Archdekin, Captain.
- - - Lieutenant.

Serjeants.	Corporals.
Nicholas Craniſborough,	Edward Fitzgerald,
John Lee,	Michael Langton,
Thomas Mayher,	Patrick Condon.
Patrick Hickey.	

With one hundred and twenty one private men.

(z) The ſubſidies levied off the inhabitants were very conſiderable. The number of houſes now in the city and ſuburbs according to the collector's return:

In St. Mary's pariſh	241
In St. John's -	94
In St. Patrick's -	20
In St. Canice's -	152
	507

Allowing eight perſons to an houſe, there were then but 4056 ſouls in Kilkenny. By the hearth-books

(y) Laffan's MSS. (z) Laffan's MSS.

books of 1777, an interval of but eighty-eight years, it appears there were then 2274 houſes, which eſtimating as before, makes 18,192 ſouls, or an increaſe of 14,136 perſons. Such are the happy effects of domeſtic peace, the regular adminiſtration of juſtice, and the eſtabliſhment of trade and manufactures.

This year, 1689 (*a*), the corporation petitioned king James, that by his proclamation having ordered coals to be ſold at nine pence per barrel, lieutenant Walſh and James Meigh in diſobedience thereof, being overſeers of Idough colliery, prevented coals from coming to the city, and thereby enhanced their price, although the city was obliged to find fewel for colonel Thomas Butler's regiment of foot and two troops of lord Galmoy's horſe, and therefore prayed redreſs.

From Mr. Laffan's collection of MSS. we learn, that John Archdekin was elected mayor of Kilkenny by the popiſh party in 1689, but was diſplaced the ſeventeenth of July 1690, after the glorious victory at the Boyne. He petitioned the corporation for his year's ſalary, which was 100*l.* and that for nine months and twenty-four days, he had received but 75*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Among his diſburſements the following are remarkable.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For ſalt to the militia of Dublin, by conſent of an aſſembly at the Old tholſel	0	3	0
For candles to lord Tyrconnel and the French general after the route of the Boyne - -	0	8	0

Paid

(*a*) Laffan's MSS.

	l.	s.	d.
Paid Patrick Mc. Moran for ſhoeing col. Sheldon's horſes, he helping to keep the city from plunder after the route	0	5	0
For iron for ſhoeing lord Tyrconnel's horſes - -	1	14	0
Paid men and women for carrying corn to the mill for want of horſes, to get ſome ground to make bread for the running army after the route -	0	3	0
Paid Nicholas Murphy for ſeven carcaſſes of mutton, given to the guards that came with lord Tyrconnel -	3	0	1
For iron delivered to Thomas Barry, for mending the locks of the city gate, after the route of the Boyne -	1	16	0
He alſo charges the board of ordinance	25	14	3

for mounting ſeven iron ſakers, the diameter of each three inches and a half, their length from the baſe ring to the muzzle ſeven feet and a half; three were mounted on field carriages, and four on truckles; four were placed on the half moons of the city walls, and three about the caſtle of Kilkenny.

1690. In July king James's army on quitting the town extorted a good ſum of money from the inhabitants, to preſerve the town from plunder. On the nineteenth of the ſame month, king William was ſplendidly entertained by the duke at his caſtle, which had been preſerved by count Lauzun from being pillaged (*b*).

July

(*b*) Harris's life of king William, pag. 281.

July 24, 1690, the (*c*) following juſtices of the peace were appointed to receive their arms and ſubmiſſion from ſuch as ſubmitted to his majeſty's declaration, in the city and county of Kilkenny.

Sheriff, for the time being,
Richard Coote, Eſq;
Sir Henry Wemys, Knight.
Sir William Evans, Knight.
Balthazar Cramer,
Samuel Booth,
John Baxter,
Agmond. Cuffe,
Chriſtopher Hewetſon, Eſqrs.

Monſieur Motraye, an ingenious foreigner, who publiſhed his travels at the Hague in 1730, and a ſhort time before viſited Kilkenny, gives the following candid and handſome account of the city, and of thoſe particulars that engaged his attention (*d*). "Kilkenny, a large town and capital of the county of the ſame name, is one of the beſt built in the province of Leinſter; its ſtreets are paved with marble, of which they have many quarries in the neighbourhood. The churches are in the Gothic ſtile of building; the cathedral is the handſomeſt and is ſituated on a ſmall height, near it is a lofty [round] tower; there are ſeveral towers of that kind in Ireland, they are very ancient, and are ſuppoſed to be the work of the Danes; I did not meet any of them in England, though the Danes were in poſſeſſion of that kingdom alſo; it is not agreed on to what

(*c*) Harris's life of king William. App. pag. lxv.
(*d*) See pag. 472, &c. of the edition in French.

what uſe they were deſtined; ſome think they were watch towers to obſerve the enemy, others that they were belfries, becauſe they are moſtly found near the ancient churches; ſome I was told are above a hundred feet high and of only ten or twelve feet diameter, the walls are but three feet thick; no ſtairs remain within theſe towers, nor any traces to ſhow that they ever had any; a ladder is requiſite to reach the entrance, which is about ten or twelve feet from the ground. At Clondalkin, four miles from Dublin, I ſaw a tower very like this, it is eighty-four feet high, and more than two hundred paces diſtant from the church. At Swords, ſix miles from Dublin, is one ſeventy-two feet in height ending in a point. At ſome diſtance from the cathedral of Kilkenny are conſiderable ruins of a monaſtery, now converted into a barrack, and the church into a ſtable; the ſteeple of it is pretty entire.

This town was noted for having in it ſeveral religious houſes. According to hiſtory, no kingdom more abounded in them than Ireland, in proportion to its extent; the greateſt number were of regular canons of St. Auguſtin, they alone had more houſes than all the other orders put together, they poſſeſſed moſt of the chapters of the cathedrals; one of the great prerogatives of that order was, that two of their abbots and eight of their priors ſat in parliament, as peers of the realm.

The market-place of the Croſs, ſo called from a marble croſs which is ſtill ſtanding in the center of it, is a long and broad ſtreet, adorned with many

many good houſes, in this ſtreet the tholſel is remarkable, though ſmall it is very neat; the croſs is lofty, raiſed on a round (*e*) pedeſtal with ſix (*f*) ſteps, the arms of it are broken off, but the ſhaft is adorned with good figures in relief, and well preſerved.

The principal ornament of the town is the duke of Ormond's palace, it was a building of his anceſtors; ſome remains of the antient caſtle ſtill appear, which ſhow that it was one of the ſtrongeſt of its time; the duke rebuilt it magnificently in the modern ſtile a little before his retreat, but the inſide was not finiſhed, nor does it appear that it ever will, being now ſo neglected that the rain comes in every where; it is inhabited only by the gardener and his family, who hardly takes care of his own apartment; and as to the gardens, keeps up only what is uſeful, ſuch as the fruit trees, vegetables, &c. he even ſuffers the graſs to grow in ſome parts, though for no other uſe but the grazing of cattle.

This palace is beautifully ſituated on an eminence, at the foot of which runs the Neure, after having waſhed the park and the town; this river runs here with rapidity over ſand and gravel, and is ſo clear, that it is one of the three things of which it is ſaid Kilkenny boaſts; water without mud, air without fog and fire without ſmoke; in fact, the air is pure and clear, and the coals which are raiſed in the neighbourhood never ſmoke."

(*e*) Square. (*f*) Five.

The MARKET CROSS.

The frequency of robbery and theft in remote and uncivilized ages, induced the neceſſity of ſelling commodities in public fairs and markets, and producing vouchers for them. Market-croſſes were invented to expedite buſineſs, and they anſwered a ſpiritual and civil purpoſe. The clergy in their proceſſions always ſtopped where they were, and ſaid maſs: they were adorned with ſculptures of angels and holy men, and thereby attracted the notice and devotion of the multitude. Thus ſanctified, they alſo ſerved a civil uſe, by the ſeller looking on them and ſwearing, that what he was diſpoſing of was either honeſtly come by, or good in its kind, and this ſupplied the place of a voucher. So general was this practice, that no oath is ſo common among the Iriſh, as ſwearing by the croſs.

The market croſs of Kilkenny continued an ornament to the city until the year 1771, when it was taken down, but a drawing was made of it about ten years before, which is now in the collection of the rev. Mr. Archdall; we here give an engraving of it, the date MCCC appears on it, and alſo that it had five ſteps. Motraye ſays, the arms were broken, but the ſhaft remained, adorned with beautiful figures.

CASTLE of KILKENNY

Is now in a better ſtate than when viewed by Motraye. The entrance into it is from the parade, and leads to the back of the houſe, the front facing the river. In the court-yard are the foundations of

Market Cross - Kilkenny.

of the buildings mentioned by Motraye, and oppoſite the door of the houſe, is a clock placed in an old tower.

On entering the houſe, we turn on the left hand into the dining parlour; it is ill-proportioned, as are all the other rooms; convenience and elegance are conſulted in none of them. That the duke of Ormond did not build the whole, the different additions and improvements demonſtrate. It is impoſſible to conceive ſo meanly of his grace's taſte and judgment, as to imagine he could adopt ſuch irregularities and diſproportions in any plan offered to him, much leſs would he have neglected ſuitable bed chambers, which are abſolutely not to be found here. To compenſate for theſe defects, the curious viſitant may contemplate many portraits of the various branches of this truly antient and noble family. Led by an ignorant Ciceroni and unfurniſhed with a catalogue, the reader muſt pardon whatever errors he may find in the following detail of the pictures.

Dining Parlour.

Earl of Arran, by Sir Peter Lely.
Earl of Oſſory, father of lord Arran.
Emilia de Naſſau, counteſs of Oſſory.
Dutcheſs of Richmond, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
Two beauties of the court of king Charles II.
Dutcheſs of Devonſhire, daughter to the firſt duke of Ormond.
Counteſs of Cheſterfield, her ſiſter.
Dutcheſs of Beaufort and Somerſet.
Two young children of the family.

Breakfast or Tapistry Room.

From the dark and irregular figure of this room, it appears to have been one of the old towers: and we discover the thickness of the walls, which is very great. The tapistry, admirably executed, contains the history of Decius, the colours fresh and lively. In this room are

The first duke of Ormond, a full length.

The second dutchess of Ormond.

Over the chimney

A shepherd and two lambs.

A handsome glass lustre and gilt mouldings and bases adorn this room.

The Alcove or Presence Chamber.

This room is also hung with tapestry, representing the four seasons, but inferior in design and execution to the foregoing. The paintings are

The last duke of Ormond.

Lady Thurles.

Herodias with the head of St. John in a charger.

A madona and child, from Corregio, by Carlo Dolci.

Lord Arran.

Royal family, by Vandyke.

Charles IId's queen, by the same.

A portrait unknown.

A landscape.

In this chamber is a chest finely japanned, said to be the duke of Ormond's travelling chest; and a pier glass, and under it a table inlaid with various marbles.

Ball Room or Gallery.

This gallery is of great length, but unfiniſhed, nor does proper care ſeem to be taken of the valuable works it contains. In it are the

Head of lord Strafford.
King Charles I. and his queen.
King Charles II.
King James II.
Queen Mary.
Queen Anne.
Firſt duke of Ormond.
Earl of Oſſory, his ſon.
Dutcheſs of Kent, all whole lengths.
Admiral Jenkin, in black.
Lord Clanricarde.
Mary Magdalen, almoſt naked.
Fourteen portraits unknown.
Six battle-pieces, repreſenting the engagements in the Dutch war, in which lord Oſſory was preſent.

Mrs. Butler's Dressing Room

Is ſmall, but handſomely fitted up. There are a japanned cabinet, and a commode of olive inlaid and divided at top with lines of holly. The paintings are,

Ceres and Autumnus.
Two of the beauties of king Charles's court.
Two flower pieces.
Laſt dutcheſs of Ormond.
Lady Amelia Butler.

A very ſmall cloſet called, a boudeur, with a library in it.

LADY ANNE BUTLER'S DRESSING ROOM,

Is a ſmall octagon, in one of the towers. Here are ſome miniature paintings, particularly one of the earl of Wandesford, lady Anne's father, and his counteſs.

A ſmall chamber organ.

Two Chineſe mandarins, &c.

We paſs through a long corridore to the bed chambers, which are but indifferent.

LADY ANNE'S BED CHAMBER

Is hung with tapeſtry, made by nuns; the figures are Chineſe and groteſque, the bed curtains the ſame, but neither figures or colours good.

The CHAPEL.

Mr. and Mrs. Butler continue Roman catholics, and have this ſmall room for a chapel. The altar is of wood, and in the center is a ſtone covered with coarſe canvas, and called the holy ſtone; it is an oblong of about eight inches by four, with an inſcription in old Gothic letters, of ſome text. At firſt ſight it was judged a relique, but on farther conſideration, it was found, that by the firſt canon made by (g) archbiſhop Comyn in 1186, it is ordered, "that altars be made of ſtone; and if a ſtone of ſufficient ſize cannot be got, then a ſquare, intire and poliſhed one be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Chriſt's body is conſecrated; of a compaſs broad enough to contain five croſſes, and to bear the foot of the largeſt chalice." This ſufficiently explains the reaſon of the ſtone being inlaid in the altar.

There

(g) Ware's Biſhops, pag. 216.

There is a tabernacle for the elements, with a madona over it; and in an inner room, a confeſſion chair.

Evidence Chamber

Contains a great number of family papers. Mr. Carte, while he was employed in compiling the life of the great duke of Ormond, had an order from the earl of Arran, to examine and take away whatever papers were uſeful to him; and accordingly he ſelected a great many, and brought them on—three Iriſh cars—as he expreſſes it, to Dublin. Mr. Butler informed the writer, that they were ſent back, and repoſited in this chamber. Mr. Carte moreover mentions a number of ſtewards accounts; theſe if carefully examined might give us as good a view of antient manners, as the earl of Northumberland's houſhold book, communicated to the public by dean Percy; but from the ſmall number that the dean printed, he muſt be equally curious and fortunate that can obtain a copy of it. It would be worthy the noble poſſeſſor to have thoſe antient documents arranged, titled, and their contents expreſſed: valuable materials might be found to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the kingdom, in which the houſe of Ormond bore ſo illuſtrious a part, and in particular of the city and county of Kilkenny.

The front of the houſe lies nearly S. W. looking towards St. John's bridge. Before the front is a lawn edged with flowers and ſhrubs: this lawn with its wall forms a rampart next the river: at the foot of this wall, a walk of about eight feet in breadth

breadth has been taken off the river; it is called the mall, and here the citizens recreate themſelves, while the Nore rolls by: a river thus recorded in Spenſer's Faery Queen (*h*).

"The next the ſtubburne Neure, whoſe waters grey,
By fair Kilkenny and Roſponte bord."

Sir James Ware mentions biſhop Cantwell's rebuilding the great bridge of Kilkenny, thrown down by an inundation about the year 1447; it alſo appears that St. John's bridge fell down by a great flood in the year 1564. See page 357.

On Sunday the ſecond of October 1763, about eight o'clock in the morning, a moſt unuſual flood and inundation poured down upon the city and county of Kilkenny, from twenty-four hours of inceſſant rain. Green's bridge near the cathedral fell, but no life was loſt. On St. John's bridge above an hundred perſons were ſtanding; but it being reported, that a cabbin was ſailing down the river without ſinking, moſt of them haſtened to behold the ſight; fourteen men and women however unfortunately remained, the bridge fell, and they were inſtantly ſwallowed up in the torrent. For two days there was no communication between the people on each ſide the river; boats could not ply: in moſt low ſituations the water roſe to eleven and in ſome to fifteen feet in height.

From biſhop Pococke's papers, in the epiſcopal palace, the loſſes ſuſtained are thus eſtimated:

St.

(*h*) B. 4. cant. xi. ſt. 43.

	l.	s.	d.
St. John's bridge	2789	5	0
Green's bridge	2828	8	0
Bennet's bridge	1939	4	0
Thomaſtown bridge	1394	16	0
Caſtlecomer bridge	1019	7	8
Enniſteague	413	9	6
	10384	10	2
In the city, loſſes	499	0	6
By poor under 40s.	25	19	0
In St. Canice, loſſes	430	12	4
Poor as before	41	12	4
	£.11381	14	4

For St. John's and Green's bridges,	l.	s.	d.
the parliament granted	5417	0	0
By a tax on the county	4967	0	0
Earl of Northumberland, lord lieutenant, gave	200	0	0
Collections in the neighbouring churches	273	0	0
	£.10857	0	0

St. John's bridge has been ſince rebuilt with three light elegant arches, as has alſo Green's bridge with equal beauty and elegance.

SECT. V.

ABOUT the year 1233, Hugh Mapilton, whoſe ſee was then at Aghaboe in Upper Oſſory, began the foundation of the cathedral church in Kilkenny. Such

Such is the account in the annals at the end of Ware. However, this writer in his account of the biſhops of Oſſory, mentions (but as a report, of which, it is to be ſuppoſed, he could procure no evidence) that Felix O Dullany or Delany laid the foundation of the cathedral in 1180. It is very extraordinary, if the church was at all begun by Dullany, no progreſs ſhould be made in it for ſeventy-eight years after. On the other hand, we cannot conſiſtently with truth and hiſtory place the rudiments of the church ſo late as Mapilton, becauſe there are indiſputable proofs of there being biſhops of this ſee during the above interval.

So that the fact is probably this:—Dullany erected an oratory near the round tower as the foundation of an epiſcopal church: Hugh Rufus purſued the ſame idea with more vigour, being an Engliſh monk, and elected perhaps through the intereſt of the earl of Pembroke; and Mapilton and St. Leger might have perfected theſe beginnings. There are ſome diſtinguiſhing marks in the ſtyle of this building, that ſeem to countenance the preceding conjectures. St. Leger died towards the end of Edward I's reign, when the character (i) of eccleſiaſtical architecture was, the immoderate length of the eaſtern and weſtern windows, taking up the breadth of the nave and riſing as high as the vaulting, and theſe ornamented with coloured glaſs. The windows of our cathedral are in this ſtyle, but at preſent ſhortened; however the eye quickly diſcovers and traces the barbarous change. A large pile like this, and where every exertion was

(i) Bentham's Antiquities of Ely.

was clogged with innumerable difficulties amid the turbulence of conqueſt and inſurrection, could not ſoon be completed. We have no memorials of its progreſs, and are therefore left to form an opinion from circumſtances.

Biſhop Ledred, in 1318, fitted up the windows, and particularly the eaſtern one in ſo elegant a manner, and adorned with ſuch elegant workmanſhip, as left it without a rival in the kingdom. This will appear by no means exaggerated, when we are (*k*) informed, that Rinuccini, who came from the natal ſoil of the fine arts, was ſo much ſtruck with its beauty, that he offered the large ſum of 700*l.* for it, and eſteemed it to be no mean ornament for Rome itſelf, whither he deſigned to ſend it. But neither the high rank of the (*l*) prince of Firmo, nor the plenitude of power with which he was inveſted, nor the diſtreſſes of the times, could prevail on the titular prelate, David Roth, or the chapter to comply with the nuncio's wiſhes. The eaſtern window contained the hiſtory of Chriſt from his birth to his aſcenſion. The other windows were enriched with ſeveral emblems. In 1650, this

(*k*) Ware's biſhops of Oſſory.

(*l*) Johannes Baptiſta Rinuccini, was archbiſhop and prince of Firmo in Italy. The hiſtory of his Iriſh legation, replete with intereſting particulars, is at preſent in MS, in the library of the marquis Rinuccini, at Florence, from which Burke hath extracted much reſpecting the tranſactions of the confederate catholics at Kilkenny. Supplem. Hib. Domin. paſs. Sir Thomas Coke, earl of Leiceſter, brought a tranſcript of this valuable manuſcript from Florence, which was in his elegant library at Holkham in Norfolk. See an inquiry into the ſhare which king Charles I. had in the tranſactions of the earl of Glamorgan. London 1756. 8vo. wrote by Thomas Birch, D. D Preface, page 4.

this exquiſite piece of art was demoliſhed with other curious monuments of former times. What fragments remained were carefully collected by biſhop Pococke, and placed in two ovals over the weſtern door.

(*m*) The fabrick is conſtructed in the Gothic taſte, and in the form of a croſs. The length from eaſt to weſt, in the clear, is 226 feet, and the breadth of the croſs from north to ſouth is 123, being perhaps the largeſt church in the kingdom, except St. Patrick's and Chriſt church, Dublin, and in the beauty of its nave it excells both. It has two lateral and a center aile, which yield an admirable proſpect. The Roof of the nave is ſupported by five pillars and a pilaſter of black marble on each ſide, upon which are formed five neat arches. Each lateral aile is enlightened by four windows below, and the center aile by five above; they are in the ſhape of quaterfoils. The ſteeple is low but broad, taking up the ſpace of thirty-ſeven feet; it is ſupported by four maſſy columns of black marble, and its floor reſts on a great number of ſpringers, ariſing from the columns; they ſpread over the vaulting, and are each divided into a ſmall moulding like beads. The pillars in this church were about ſixty or ſeventy years ſince whitened by an abſurd and ignorant œconomiſt. There are four entrances: one at the weſt end, two in the nave oppoſite each other, and one at the end of the north tranſept. The ſeats of the choir and gallery are of oak, varniſhed, the whole plain but remarkably neat. The compaſs-ceiling is adorned with

(*m*) Ware's biſhops, ſupra.

with fret-work, and has many modillions, and in the center a groupe of foliage, feſtoons and cherubims; nor is it deſtitute of an elegant ſet of organs. At the end of the ſouth tranſept and fronting the north door, is a very neat conſiſtory court, erected by biſhop Pococke; to the eaſt of which is the chapter houſe, it is neat and lightſome; over the chimney is the following elegant and modeſt inſcription:

HANC
BASILICAM
VETUSTATE
LABASCENTEM
RESTITUERUNT
ORNARUNT
OSSORIENSES
ANNO
MDCCLXIII.

In the north tranſept is St. Mary's chapel: here the parochial vicar of St. Canice formerly officiated. Near this chapel was another apartment, wherein were heaped many ſtone monuments: theſe were refixed in the nave and the lateral ailes by the care of biſhop Pococke, who to his other excellent qualifications added that of a learned *antiquary*. On the outſide, round the church, runs a regular battlement, and at the weſt end are two ſmall ſpires.

The towers and turrets (*n*), ſays Mr. Bentham, built by the Normans in the firſt century after their arrival, were covered with platforms, with battlements or plain parapet walls. One of the earlieſt ſpires

(*n*) *Supra*, pag. 40.

ſpires, that of old St. Pauls, was finiſhed in the year 1222, with timber and covered with lead.

The tower of St. Canice's is not finiſhed: it has no ſpire, though ſufficiently ſtrong to bear one; and it continues in much the ſame ſtate it was left in at its firſt erection.

We ſhall now mention ſuch biſhops as were benefactors to the cathedral.

Biſhop Ledred, let his conduct be what it may in other matters, zealouſly promoted the intereſt of his church. His predeceſſors lived remote from the cathedral, which at the ſame time that it was improper, was the cauſe of many exceſſes among the numerous clergy attached to it: he therefore reſolved to build an epiſcopal houſe. King Edward III. granted him (o) the ſite of three churches, St. Nicholas, St. James and St. Bridget, near the cathedral, on paying twenty ſhillings for this purpoſe; he alſo uſed the ſtones and materials in them. To appeaſe theſe tutelar ſaints, and to atone for his ſacrilege, he founded an altar in his palace and dedicated it to them. He alſo granted to the dean and chapter of St. Canice the church of Drumdelgy, alias Thornback.

Biſhop Snell beſtowed on his church ſome rich preſents, as gloves, pontifical ſandals, a ſilken caphin, interwoven with gold ſpots, and a mitre adorned with precious ſtones. Such donations were then highly meritorious, and the (p) virtues of them eſteemed very great.

Biſhop Barry, in 1428, built a large caſtle and hall at his manor of Biſhop's lough. He endowed the

(o) Ware, ſupra.
(p) Durand. Ration. Divin. Offic. Lib. 3.

the vicars of the common hall near St. Canice with four marks of ſilver, chief rent, out of the lands of Marſhall's in the pariſh of St. Maul.

Biſhop Baron, in 1527, rebuilt and repaired the biſhop's manor houſe, at Newcourt, and gave the vicars choral all the tythes and oblations of the Black or Dominican abbey, then lately diſſolved, a paſtoral ſtaff of ſilver, and a marble table for the altar.

Biſhop Hacket built the arch of the belfry of ſquared marble.

Biſhop Williams, a prelate of diſtinguiſhed piety and ſufferings, expended 1400*l.* in repairing the cathedral. The bells being carried away in the rebellion, he put up one that coſt him 144*l.* He laid out on the chancel 300*l.* and on the belfry 40*l.*

In 1675, biſhop Parry gave a ring of bells, ſix in number, weighing ſeventy hundred, two quarters and five pounds; they coſt 246*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*; beſides he gave 10*l.* to buy plate.

Biſhop Otway railed in the communion table, and covered it with a rich cloth. On the twenty-fourth of July, 1684, he preſented to the dean and chapter 363 ounces of plate gilt, for which he paid 116*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* It formerly belonged to Chriſt church, Dublin.

Doctor Pooley, dean of Oſſory, and after biſhop of Raphoe, gave 120*l.* towards raiſing the ſteeple, and to repair the towers. He alſo beſtowed a large ſilver gilt baſon, weighing ſixty-one ounces.

But this cathedral owes its preſervation to biſhop Pococke. When he came to the ſee of Oſſory the church was in the moſt ruinous condition, being totally

totally neglected by his predeceſſors. Its galleries were decaying: its roof tumbling down: its monuments broken and ſcattered about; and a few years muſt have beheld this venerable fabric with ſcarcely one ſtone upon another. With that love of religion and decency, which ſtrongly marked his character, he zealouſly ſet about its reparation: he warmly ſolicited ſubſcriptions: purchaſed every neceſſary material at the beſt rate: in perſon ſuperintended the workmen, and that often from four o'clock in the morning: beautified and adorned it throughout, and left a memorial of his piety and regard for his epiſcopal church, which the city of Kilkenny and the dioceſe of Oſſory ſtill gratefully remember.—Note, the names of the ſubſcribers are on a marble tablet in the north tranſept; ſee a copy of it immediately after the account of the monuments.

The epiſcopal reſidence which adjoins the cathedral being originally very ſmall, was much improved by biſhop John Parry, at the expence of 400*l.*

The biſhops Veſey and Hartſtonge further improved the palace; but biſhop Eſte made it a much more commodious habitation, by the addition of four apartments and a noble ſtair-caſe, expending on it in buildings and other improvements 1956*l.* though his ſucceſſor was charged only with the ſum of 1400*l.* In the ſtudy, over the chimney-piece, are the arms of primate Boulter, his patron.

Biſhop Dodgſon very laudably began the practice of clothing and inſtructing the choriſters, at the biſhop's expence.

MONU-

MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CATHEDRAL.

On the ſouth ſide of the high altar.

D. O. M.

Sacrum.

Illuſtriſſimus ac nobiliſſimus dominus Ricardus Butler,

Vicecomes de Mountgarret, baro de Kells, &c.

Ex antiquiſſimis primariæ in Hibernia nobilitatis familiis oriundus; utpote Petri Butler, Ormoniæ et Oſſoriæ comitis, ac Margaretæ Fitz Gerald filiæ comitis de Kildaria, pronepos.

Vir religione in Deum, pietate in patriam, fidelitate in regem, pace belloque conſpicuus, de rege, regno et eccleſia dei, pro quibus fortiter periculoſis et maxime turbatis temporibus ſtetit, optime meritus: felicis ac fæcundæ prolis parens: ſibi, majoribus ac poſteris hoc monumentum pie poſuit, memoriam ſui nunquam morituram reliquit.

(*q*) Obiit ille . . . Anno 16 . .

Defunctæ ac nobiliſſimæ vicecomitum de Mountgarret familiæ bene precare, viator!

On the right of the door going into the chancel.

Sacred to the memory of Richard Pococke, L.L.D.

Who from the archdeaconry of Dublin

Was promoted to this ſee MDCCLVI

And tranſlated to that of Meath MDCCLXV

Where he died Sept. 15th in the ſame year.

(*q*) He died in 1651. Lodge, v. 2. pag. 261.

He diſcharged every duty of the paſtoral and epiſcopal office
With prudence, vigilance, and fidelity;
Adorning his ſtation
With unſhaken integrity of heart and purity of conduct;
Attentive to the intereſt of religion,
He cauſed ſeveral parochial churches to be rebuilt,
Within this dioceſs.
He promoted and liberally contributed to the repair
And embelliſhment of this cathedral church,
Then unhappily falling into decay.
A zealous encourager of every uſeful publick work
Eſpecially the linen manufacture,
He bequeathed a very conſiderable legacy,
To the governors of the incorporated ſociety,
For promoting the united intereſts of induſtry and charity,
Within this borough of St. Canice *.

On the left of the door going into the chancel.

Sub hoc marmore
Clauditur Annæ Cox quod mortale fuit, Jacobi O Brien, filii comitis nuperi de Inchequin, filiæ: quæ Michaeli Cox, epiſcopo Oſſorienſi, anno 1745, matrimonio juncta, eodem anno, ætatis ſuæ 23, fatali puerperio abrepta eſt, prius enixa filium. Quantæ jacturæ! quantillum Solamen! Illa nempe tam corporis quam animi dotibus a natura ditata dignaque iiſdem diſciplina liberaliter inſtituta, non minus ſanctè quam eleganter vitam exegit.

Ingens

* Biſhop Pococke is buried at Ardbraccan in the county of Meath.

Ingens deſiderium parentibus, cognatis, amicis; infandu mœconjugi mrorem, ſinguliſque ſingularum virtutum exemplar opimum, reliquit. Contemplare, lector, humanæ fælicitatis caducam ſortem, et adverſus inopinos et miſerrimos caſus (nullabi præclarius monendus) animum bene munitum et erectum para.

This elegant monument is of white marble, from which riſes a ſhaft, on which is the arms of the deceaſed. Piety, a whole length, holds a book in one hand, and reclines her head on the other, which leans on an urn. The whole is well conceived and executed by Scheemaker.

Hic jacent

Adam Cottrel, Jacob^{s}. Cottrel, Ricard^{s}. Lawles et Walter^{s}. Lawles cū ej^{s}. uxore Letitia Courcy, quōdā burges^{s}. ville Kilkenie ac donī de Talbot's inche. Q^{i} Walter^{s}. obiit 2 die mēs^{s}. decbr^{s}. a^{o}. d^{i} 1550, quorū āīab^{s} ppiciet. De^{s}. āē.

Hic jacet Ricard^{s} Lawles, fili^{s} et hæres dicti Walteri, q^{i} obiit 6 die mes^{s} Octob. a^{o} dni 1506.

Hic jacet Jacobus Lawles, frater et hæres Ricardi Lawles, filii et hæredis Walteri Lawles, qui obiit ultimo die julii A. D. 1562. cuj^{s} aīe ppiciet. Deus. et Adam Lawles qui obiit 20 die Oct. 1600, et Lætitia Shee uxor ejus, quæ obiit 5 die Oct. 1576.

Credo q^{d} redē^{r} me^{s} vivit, et ī noviſſi^{o} die de trā ſurrectur^{s}. ſū, et ī carne meo videbo Deū, ſalvatorem meum, quē viſur^{s} ſum ego ipſe, et non alius, et oculi mei ſpecturi ſūt.

Hic jacet

Patricius Kerin, quōdā ville Kilkenie burgēſis, qui obiit 5 die mēſis Feb. 1581. Et Joanna Nowlan uxor ejˢ quæ obiit 5 die menſis Decˢ. 1575.

Hic jacet

Petrus Graunt—canonicus, Oxoniæ alumnus et vicariˢ de Balletarſne, qⁱ obiit die 23° menſis Februarii aº dⁱ 1509. Cujˢ aiæ piciēt Deus. Amen.

Hic jacet

Jacobˢ Sentleger de Ballefennon, qⁱ obiit primo die Feb. 1597, et Egidia Toben ejˢ uxor, q̄ obiit 2° die, menſis Novembris 1570. Et Patricius Sentleger, filiˢ ſecūdus eorum, qui obiit 21 die menſis Feb. 1607, et Margaret Shee ejˢ uxor quæ obiit. . . die menſis. . . . . .

I. H. S.

Hic jacēt Thomas Power, qui obiit anno dn̄i 1519, et Margeria Pynſon uxor ejus, et Johannes Power, filius et heres dicti Thomæ, cū ſua uxore Joanna Sawadge, qⁱ obierunt A. D. 1550. Ricardus Power, ej. Johaīs filius et heres, quondam burgenſis ville Hibernice Kilkenie, qui Ricardus obiit 27 die menſis Maii, A. D. 1583. Et Iſabella Roth, uxor illius, que obiit . . . die . . . menſis . . . . anno domini 15 . . . . . .

Here lyeth

The body of cap. Robert Barton, late of the honourable col. Henry Harriſon's regiment, who departed this life the 5th day of November, 1723, in the 63 year of his age.

Hic

Hic ſepultus eſt
Standiſius Hartſtonge, Armiger, filius natu tertius Standiſii Hartſtonge, baronetti, et Scaccarii regis baronis. In agro Norfolcienſi oriundus, qui in hac civitate recordatoris, et in palatinatu Tipparerienſi cuſtodis rotulorum muneribus diu et præclarè functus, obiit primo calendarum Junii, anno MDCCIV.

Chariſſimo fratri poſuit Johannes epiſcopus Oſſorienſis, fælicem et ipſe reſurrectionem ſub hoc olim marmore expectaturus.

Here lyeth
The body of Mr. Richard Duigin, who departed this life April 4th, 1708.

Hic jacet
Thomas Otway, Oſſorienſis epiſcopus, qui obiit ſexto die Martii 1692-3, ætatis ſuæ 77.

He lies near the weſt door.

Here lyeth
The body of Charles Sandford of Sandfordſcourt, eſquire, who departed this life the 4th of Dec. 1701.

Hic jacet
Johannes Maroh, quōdam civitatis Kilkenniæ burgēſis, q^i obiit 23 die Decbris 1601. Et Margaretą Riane uxor ejus, que obiit 9 die Jan^ii 1609.

Qui clari fuerant filii, ſpeſque alma parentum
Bourcheri Carolus, Fredericuſque Philipus.
Oſſa immatura ſimul flebilis nunc continet urna,
Morte puer juvenis, virque ſenexque cadit.

Quorum alter obiit 17 die Septembris, 1574.
Alter viii die Martii, a° 1587.

Hic

Hic jacet Edmūdus Purſell
Capitaneus turbariāru. cōmtis Ormonie, q^{i} obiit 4 die Novēbris, ano Doni, 1509. Et Ellena Gras uxor ejus a^{o} dni 1500.

Hic jacet
Magr. Johes Coughlande, quōdā cancellarius Oſſ^{s} eccliē; q^{i} obiit 19° die mēſis Martii, a^{o} dni 1508. Pro cujus anima cuilibet dicenti Pater et Ave, ceduntur a venerando patre, David, epiſcopo Oſſorienſi, 40 dies īndulg.
Quiſquis eris qui tranſieris, ſta, perlege, plora;
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es, pro me, precor ora.

. . . . 1566, et Letitia Walche uxor ej^{s} q̄ obiit . . . die . . . mēſis . . . a^{o}. d^{i}. 1560.

. . . . . act
Roſiæ Ruu, animæ propicietur Ds.

Here lyeth
The body of the Rev. Henry Des Myniers, A. M. prebendary of Killamory, &c. who departed this life the 28th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1759, aged 68 years.

Here lyeth
The body of Richard Longe, who departed this life the 18th of April 1690.

Edmond Brenan, Robert Rinighan, Edward Rinighan, 1615.

Hic

Hic jacet

Dons Willms Carleil quoda archidiacons. Mids. et rector de Yochil, ac ecclesiar. Dubl. Cass. Ofs. Fern's. Clon's. et Corkag's. canonicus . . . . . cujus aie ppicietur Deus. Amen.

✠ Hic jacet

Helena, filia Edvardi, cujus aiæ propicietur Deus in vitam æternam. Amen.

. . . . here lies

John Sprice, burgēs, qui obiit die . . . . and his wife Joane Kenede, quæ obiit . . . die

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Hic jacet

Petrus Butteler, Comes Ormonie et Ofse, qi obiit 26 die Augusti, A. D. 1539. Et Margaretæ Fitzgerald, comitissa, uxor ej' q obiit 9 die Augusti.

Hic jacet

Corpus Thomæ Hill, hujus ecclesiæ decani, et S. S. theologiæ apud Cantabrigienses doctoris. Obiit primo die Nov. 1673.

✠ Hic jacet

Dns. Simon Dunyng, quondā precentor istius eccle. qui obiit in festo beatæ Mariæ Magdalene, ano dnim 1434.

Here lyeth William O Dowly.

Hic jacēt

Thomas Pembrock, quoda. burges villa Kilkennie qi obiit 10 die Septembris A. D. . . . .

. . . . brock fili's. dicti Thome, qui obiit 14 die octobris a. d. 1591.

. . ck

. . . . ck filius dicti David una cum
. . . . a Ragget et Catharina Archer
. . . . omas obiit 25 januarii 1616
. . . . unus primorum vicecomitum
. . . . . .
. . . . unice Alicia Ragget q̄ abiit 21
. . . . . .
. . . . 85 Katharina Archer obiit
. . . . us filius dicti Thome Pembrock
. . . . . .
. . . . Joanna Ragget uxor dicti

D. O. M.

Revdus Jacobus Shee, Gulielmi ſenatoris in hac Kilkennienſi civitate, bene, prudenter et feliciter defuncti, ter prætoris officio, filius. Divini cultus et animarum zelo, reliquiſque quæ verum Dei ſacerdotem decent, virtutibus conſpicuus. Præbendarius de Taſcoffin, vicarius de Claragh, eccleſiæ cathedralis Sti Canici providus procurator et vicariorum communis aulæ induſtrius proviſor: inter alia pietatis opera, monumentum hoc ſibi, ſuoque germano fratri R. D. Joanni Shee, præbendario de Mayne, parochiæ Sti Joannis evangeliſtæ Kilkenniæ vicario, fieri fecit.

Obiit D. Jacobus die 29 menſis Aprilis anno D̄ni 1648. Obiit etiam D. Joannes die . . . menſis . . . anno Dni . . . . .

Æternam illis requiem, eccleſiæ Dei pacem,
Et tranquillitatem precare, viator!
Una parens fauſta fratres quos protulit alvo,
Una ſacerdotes continet urna duos.

Hic

Hic jacet

Jacob^{s} Schortals dns de Balylarkan et de Balykif q^{i} hāc tūbā fieri fecit a^{o}. dm. 1507. et Katharina Whyte uxor ej^{s} p. q^{o}. u. et parētum aībs cuilibet dicēti oraoe dnic^{m}. et ſalē āgē 'cedūt. 80 dies īdulg.

Hic jacet

Honeſtus ac diſcretus vir dominus Nicholaus Motyng quondam cancellarius iſtius eccleſiæ et rector de Kilderienſi, qui obiit 13 die menſis februarii 1563. Cujus animæ propitietur Deus, Amen Jeſus.

Hic jacēt

Gulielm^{s}. Donoghou quōdā burgēs ville de Iriſhtowne juxta Kilkeniā. q^{i} obiit 13 die novēbris a^{o}. d^{i}. 1597. Et Catharina Moni ej^{s}. uxor, q obiit . . . .

Hic jacet.

Illuſtris. et nobilis. Dā. Ellana Butler, nobiliſſimi Dī Petri Butler, Ormoniæ comitis filia, et uxor qūdā pia clariſſimi Domini Donaldi O Brien, Tumundiæ comitis, q obiit 2 die Julii, 1597.

D. O. M.

Patricius Murphy, civis, ſenator, et quondam prætor Kilkenienſis: vir prudens, probus, pius: pauperum et pupillorum merito parens; mortalitatis dum viveret memor. Sibi, chariſſimæ uxori ſuæ, Anaſtatiæ Phelan, matronæ lectiſſimæ et optimæ: numeroſæ necnon eruditæ prolis matri: filio ac hæredi ſuo Ricardo Murphy, omnibus multum charo, vicecomitis munere Kilkeniæ, ſumma cum laude functo,

ætatis

ætatis flore prærepto : ejus uxori Eliſæ Rothe, liberis ac poſteris moumentum hoc poſuit. Obiit Patricius 3 die menſis Martii 1648. Anaſtatia 6 die Februarii, 1646. Ricardus 8 die Junii, 1640. Eliſa . . . . . die menſis . . . . . .

Exaltans humiles Deus, hic extolle ſepultos,
Qui fuerant humiles ſemper amore tui.
Qui requiem, vitam, ſolamen, dona, ſalutem
Pauperibus dederant: his miſerere, Deus, Amen!

Epitaphium.

Junxit amor vivos, uno mors jungit amantes
Marmore, non moritur qui benè vixit amor.
Chriſti verus, amor, poſt mortem vivit et addit,
Æternæ vitæ gaudia connubii.

Requieſcant in pace

Joannes Murphy ; filius prædicti Ricardi, 16 Nov. A. D. 1690. Maria Tobin uxor Joannis 17 Jan. 1690-1. Barnabas Murphy filius Joannis, 28 Junii 1741. Maria Shee, ejus uxor obiit 3 Nov. 1737.

D. O. M.

Ad pietatis et mortalitatis memoriam clariſſimus et nobiliſſimus dominus D. Edmundus Blanchville, eques auratus, D. de Blanchvillſtowne, Kilmodemucke, &c. ac nobiliſſima D. Elizabetha Butlera, uxor pientiſſima, perilluſtri domino Giraldo Blanchville filio chariſſimo primogenito, viro optimo, immatura morte prærepto, ſibi, liberis poſteriſque ſuis monumentum hoc erexerunt, menſe Auguſti, 1647. Giraldus obiit 21 Feb. 1646. Edmundus . . . . Elizabetha . . . . .

Requieſcant

Requieſcant in pace. Amen.

Epitaphium.

Qui patri in terris ſuccedere debuit hæres,
In tumulo huic hæres cogitur eſſe pater.
Eſt oriens primus, moriens poſtremus et idem eſt,
Ortu poſterior, interituque prior.
Mors hæc mira facit, mutat quadrata rotundis,
Mors fera quæ! quantum! ſic rapit ante patrem,
Et gnatum virtute ſenem, juvenemque diebus
Gnatum Blanchveliæ ſpem columemque domus.
Sed quoniam fera mors, vitam ſine labe caducam
Abſtulit, æternum dat diadema Deus.

Edmūd[s] Butler q[i] . . . die mēs Julii, Ao. Dni. . . . ej[s] uxor q̄ obiit 10 . . . . .

Will[s] Vale quōdā . . . eccleſiæ, qui obiit 21 die mē[s] . . . . . 1571.

Hic jacet

Jacob[s] Purcell, filius Philippi de Foukerath, q[i] obiit 11 die mēſis oct[s]. a°. d[i]. 1552. Et Joanna Shortals uxor ej[s]. que obiit . . die . . . . me[s]. a°. d[i]. 15. . . . Quor. āīāb[s]. ppicietur Deus. Amē. Jeſu.

Letatus ſum in his quæ dicta ſunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus.

Credo q[d] redēptor meus vivit, et ī noviſſimo die de terra ſurrectur[s] ſū, et ī carne mea videbo deū, ſalvatorē meū, quē viſurus ſū ego ipſe et nō ali[s], et occuli mei ſpecturi ſūt. Suſcepit deū Iſrael puerum ſuum recordatus miſericordiæ ſuæ.

Hic

Hic jacet
Corpus Dianæ Woodlefe, quæ obiit 13 die Jan. Aº. Dⁱ. 1604.

D. O. M.
Et
Memoriæ Davidis epiſcopi Oſſorienſis, qui hanc eccleſiam cathedralem Sto Canico ſacram "priſtino decori reſtituit, hæreſim exinde vapulans." Anno Dni 1642.

Ortus cuncta ſuos repetunt, matremque requirunt,
Et redit ad nihilum quod fuit ante nihil.

This monument is near the conſiſtorial court, and was defaced through the ill-judged zeal of biſhop Parry, for ſome words in the inſcription reflecting on proteſtantiſm: the words are between inverted commas, and ſupplied from tradition.

The monument is of black marble; a ledger, conſiſting of a cavetto and ovolo with their liſts, ſerve for the baſe of the whole; upon which is a frieze adorned with foliage. At each end is a plain field, deſigned for coats of arms, but they are left blank. Over each end of the frieze ſprings a butment, upon which ſtood originally two columns of the Corinthian order, but now taken away, and the entablature is at preſent ſupported by two plain pilaſters, which ſtood behind the columns. Between theſe pilaſters are two impoſts, on which an arch reſts in form of a gate, or flat niche, and that which repreſents the gate is the table, upon which is the inſcription.

Over the corner of the left impoſt is cut the effigies of St. Kiaran, with a mitre on his head, a crozier

crozier in his hand and his name underneath. He is the principal patron of the dioceſe of Oſſory, and its firſt biſhop, according to the legends. The pilaſters ſupport an entablature, compoſed of an architrave, frieze and cornice: the frieze is adorned with roſes. Over the entablature is another table, on which is cut the repreſentation of our Saviour on the croſs, and on each ſide a woman weeping. From each ſide of this table ſprings a ſcroll, which reſts upon the extremities of the entablature, and over the table is a large ovolo, which ſerves for a cornice to it: on each ſide of the ovolo is a block or cube, adorned with flowers; between which is another table archwiſe, and upon this is fixed the paternal coat of arms of the Roths, being a ſtag trippant gules, leaning againſt a tree vert. Over this coat hangs a canopy with ſtrings pendant, terminating with fringed knots. Upon the top of the arch ſtands a ſmall pedeſtal, which crowns the whole monument, upon the dye of which is—I. H. S. The arms and images ſhew the remains of gilding and painting, and the whole was executed with uncommon abilities by an Italian eccleſiaſtic, as tradition reports.

In piam
Memoriam Johannis Buſhop quondam regiſtri hujus diæceſeos, avi ſui; et Edvardi Buſhop, præbendarii de Killamery, patris ſui, in hac eccleſia cathedrali ſibi ſuiſq; poſteris hoc poſuit Walterus Buſhop, 12 Junii, 1677.

Hic jacet
Nob^us. d^i. Edmund^s Butler, vicecomes de Mountgarret, q^i obiit 20 die Dec^br 1571.

Æ. S.

Æ. S.

Reverendus Stephanus Vaughan, hujus eccleſiæ theſaurarius, in agro Avonenſi natus, Oxoniæ educatus, vitam hanc tranſitoriam Kilkeniæ finivit, 22° Aprilis 1711, ac glorioſam expectans reſurrectionem, ſubtus jacet tumulatus.

Alicia Vaughan al' Lloyd, uxor ejus chariſſima poſuit.

Here lyeth

The body of Mrs. Frances Foulkes, alias White, daughter to Gryffith White of Hênllan in Pembrockeſhire, eſquire; who being twice married, firſt to major Francis Bolton, afterwards to Bartholomew Foulkes, eſq; died the 15th day of November 1685, in the year of her age 52.

Here lyeth

The body of Mrs. Mary Stoughton, wife to Mr. Anthony Stoughton of the city of Dublin, gentleman, and daughter to the right worſhipful Henry Maynwaringe, of the city of Kilkenny, eſquire, and one of the maſters of his majeſty's high court of Chancery in Ireland; who died in childbed of her third child, named Henry, the 3d day of January, 1634, and are both here intombed together.

Epitaph.

A vertuous mother and her new-born ſon,
Parted here meet, and end where they begun.
She from her bearing bed, he from the womb,
Exchang'd their living graves for this dead tomb.
This pile and epitaph ſeem vainly ſpent,
Goodneſs rears her a ſurer monument.

No

No curious hand can cut, no lab'ring head
Bring more to praiſe her than the life ſhe led.
Bemoan that readeſt, and live well as ſhe,
So ſhall thou want nor tomb nor elogy.

Mole ſub hac tegitur, lector, digniſſima conjux,
Dans proli vitam, perdidit ipſa ſuam.
Quam ſi formâ, favor populi, ſtirps, res ſatis ampla,
Si pudor, ingenium, ſi juvenile decus,
Si quid in humanis quanquam ſervaret in ævum,
Mortis ab incurſu, ſoſpes et illa foret.
Parte tamen meliore ſui famaque ſuperſtes,
Qua licet æterno nomine viva viget.

Venerabili viro
Gulielmo Johnſon, decano eccleſiæ Sti Canici, avo materno ſuo et patri ſuo Thomæ Wale, ejuſdem eccleſiæ theſaurario, necnon ſibi ſuiſque poſteris, monumentum hoc poſuit Robertus Wale, theſaurarius. Oct. 14, A. D. 1624.

Quæ pigra cadavera pridem
Tumulis putrefacta jacebant,
Volucres rapiëntur in auras,
Animas comitata priores.
Hinc maxima cura ſepulchris
Impenditur, hinc reſolutos
Honor ultimus accepit artus,
Et funeris ambitus ornat.
Sint ut ſua præmia laudi;
Jonſoni gloria ſplendet
Omnem vulgata per orbem;
Candore nitentia claro.
Prætendere lintea, mos eſt
Aſperſa myrrha Sabæo,

Corpus

Corpus medicamine ſervat.
Quidnam tibi ſaxa cavata?
Quid pulchra volunt monumenta?
Res, quæ, niſi creditur illis
Non mortua ſed data ſomno.
Jam ſex luſtra ſubinde
Prudens, gravis, integer ævo
Divina volumina pandit.

Gulielmus Johnſon, decanus eccleſiæ cathedralis Sti Canici Kilkeniæ, qui Wigornii natus, Cantabrigiæ educatus, obiit Kilkeniæ . . . die idus Octobris 1681.

Hic pietate pares clauſa conduntur in urna,
Chriſticolæ, Chriſti munere, ſorte pares:
Sorte pari ſic morte mori conceſſit Jeſus,
Aſtrigeroque polo vivere ſorte pari.

Hic jacent
Anton⁹ Boue et Maria Gale.

Hic jacet
Gulielmus Kyvane, Roberti filius, quondam civitatis Kilkeniæ, vir diſcretus, qui ſibi, chariſſimæ uxori ſuæ Elizabethæ Bray, liberis ac poſteris hoc monumentum fieri fecit. 1647. Obiit Gulielmus . . . . Obiit etiam uxor ejus Elizabetha . . . die menſis . . . . anno

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. . . nie burgē⁹. q⁹. obiit . . . die mēs⁹. . . et Elina . . . uxor ej⁹. q̄. obiit 30 die mēſis marcii 1579
. . . . . ouli quod. mercator burgenſis ville Hibernicane Kilkenie q⁹. obiit 8 die . . .

In

In obitum

Probæ ac modeſtæ admodum mulieris Margaretæ Wale, uxoris Johannis Namoy y Kelly, generoſi Conachtienſis, obiit 2° Maii, a°. d^{i}. 1623.

Ipſius mariti funebre hexaſticon.

Grata Deo, delecta toro, dilecta marito,
Moribus et vita hic culta, ſepulta jacet.
Illius ingenium ingenuum, pietaſque fideſque
Dona fuere ſuo dos ſatis ampla viro.
Quanquam jure ſuo ſua corpora terra repoſcat,
Tantâ vix digna eſt hoſpite terra tamen.

✠ Hic jacet
Johēs Talbot, cuj^{s} aiæ ppicet 'Ds.

Hic jacet
Georgi^{i} Savadge fili^{i} Georgii Savadge, q^{d} ville Kilkenie burges^{s} qui obiit a°. d^{i}. 1500. Hic jacet Margareta Savadge.

Eloquio clarus, virtute fideque Jacobus,
Cœlum mente habitans, hoc habet oſſa ſolum.

Jacobus Clarus.

Protonotarius et rector eccleſie D. Johannis, diæceſis Offorienſis . . . . . Vir bonus et benignus, verecundus viſu, moribus modeſtus, eloquio decorus, a puero in virtutibus exercitus, Deo devotus, hominibus amabilis, et omnibus bonorum operum exemplis præclarus. Obiit anno 1643, 14 Nov. ſub auroram cum maximo piorum hominum luctu.

Hic jacent
Johannes Gras, miles ac baro de Courtiſtown, et Onorina Brenach ux^{r} ej^{s} a°. d^{i}. 1568, die mēs^{s} . . .

Hic jacet

Reverend^{s} pāter Nicholaus Walſhe, quondam Oſs^{s} epus, qui obiit die mēs^{s} Dec̄. 17, A°. D^{i}. 1585.

He is interred on the ſouth ſide of the great aile.

Turris fortis mihi Deus.

Spiritus amborum cœli verſatur in aula,
Infra nunc quorum corpora terra capit:

Hic jacet

Gulielmus Kelly, quondam civitatis Kilkeniæ burgenſis, qui obiit 27 menſis Maii, anno dom. 1644. Et uxor ejus chara Margareta Phelan, quæ obiit 2 die Octr. anno dom. 1635.

Miſeremini mei, miſeremini mei, ſaltem vos amici, quia manus Domini tetigit me. Job. 19.

✠ Hic jacet

Petrus Bolger, qui obiit 8 die ſeptēbr^{s} 1601, et uxor ej^{s} Joanna Walſhe, quæ obiit 29 die Januarii 1608.

Hic jacet

Ricardus Clovan quondam burgenſis ville Kilkenie, qui obiit 1°. die Jan. 1609, et Elena Rothe, ejus uxor que obiit . . . .

Hic jacet

Gulielmus Hollechan de civitate Kilkenie burgenſis qui obiit 1 die Januarii 1609. Et Morona Macher ejus uxor que obiit . . . .

Hic jacet

Dns Johes de Karlell quondam cancellarius . . . Dublin ac eccleſiarum Fern . . . . canonicus.

Hic

Hic jacet
Richardus Deane, nuper epiſcopus Oſſorienſis, qui obiit 20 die menſis Feb. anno domino 1612.
He lies near the biſhop's throne.

Huic monumento
Subtus adjacet quod venerabilium hujus eccleſiæ decani ac capituli beneficio reliquiis ſui ſuorumque inhumandis conditorium habet Nicholaus Cormicke Kilkennienſis, A. D. 1723.
Beatam illis reſurrectionem, lector, apprecare.

Hic jacet
Thomas Karrone, q^i obiit 26 die mes^s Julii 1510, cuju^s. aiæ propicietur Deus. Amen.

Hic jacet
Dionyſius Kely, cū uxore ej^s Morina, a^o. dī. 1511.

Hic jacet
Thomas Savadge, quod^m burgenſis . . . . . .
Nicholaa Schee . . . uxor ejus q̄ obiit . . . die. menſis a^o. d^i. 15 . . .
Ricardus Cantwell.

. . . Canici Kilkeniæ qui obiit 26 die mēs^s Sep. a^o. d^i. 1512 cuj^s. āīē propicietur Deus.

Hic requieſcit
Elizabetha Barlow, Jonæ Wheeler Oſſorienſis epiſcopi filia, Radulphi Barlow, archidiaconi Midenſis conjux, quæ ex puerperio obiit 3 Decembris.

Hic jacet

Dōns Johannes Cantwell, qūdā prentor iſtius ecclie, q^{i}. obiit 18 die mēs^{s}. novēbris a^{o}. d^{i}. 1531. Cuj^{s}. āīē ppicietur De^{s}. amen.

Hic jacet

Dn̄s Jōhes Nele, theſaurari^{s}. iſti^{s}. ēccle. q^{i}. obiit . . . Milo ēps Oſs^{s}. ōibus dicētib^{s}. orōē dica et ſaluto āglicō p āia pdicti prētoris tocies q^{o}. cies 'ceſſit 40 dies īdulgētie.

. . . Hic jacet Donat^{s} Brin et Margareta Scerlock.

Pray

For John Brenan, carpenter, who dyeth the 8th day of 8ber 1646, and his wife Anne ny Glanlow, dead the . . . . .

Omnibs orāvē dicā cū ſalutaōe Āglica p āiabs revēdi patris David Dei grā epi Oſs^{s}. ac mri Thome Mychel utriuſq; juris baccalarii off . . . aris . . et Caſs^{d}. eccleſiar. Canic^{d}. q^{i}. h^{i}. jacet ac Thome Hakked brgēs ville Kilkenie, dicētibs tociē q^{o}ciēs 400 dies īdulgētiæ 'cedūt^{r}.

Hic jacēt Nicholaus Hakked brgēs^{s}. ville Kilkenie fili^{s}. et heres pfati Thome Hakked q^{i}. obiit . . die mēs^{s}. . . anno 1500. . . .

Et Margareta Archer uxor ejuſdē Nicholai q^{i} obiit 29 die aprilis a^{o}. D^{i}. 1528. q^{o}rū āibs ppropiciet^{r}. De^{s}. amē.

The

The foregoing inſcriptions are taken from a MSS. drawn up for the uſe of biſhop Pococke, by John O Phelan in 1763; it is now in the epiſcopal palace, being beſtowed by the Rev. Mervyn Archdall, rector of Attanagh and Agharney, to biſhop Newcome, for the uſe of the biſhops of Oſſory in ſucceſſion.

We muſt not omit the monument of Thomas, earl of Ormond and Oſſory, formerly in the cathedral, but deſtroyed by the uſurpers, of which Mr. Walpole gives the following note from Vertue's MSS.

"In June 1614, I bargained with Sir Walter Butler for to make a tomb for the earl of Ormond, and to ſet it up in Ireland; for the which I had well paid me 100*l.* in hand, and 300*l.* more when the work was ſet up at Kilkenny." Extract from the pocket-book of Nicholas Stone, ſtatuary (z).

A monument lately erected—

Here lie interred, the remains of the Rev. Doctor
Robert Moſſom,
Of the univerſity of Trinity college, Dublin. Formerly ſenior fellow, and divinity profeſſor. Afterwards for the ſpace of 46 years, of this cathedral, reſident dean. A pattern of true piety, and a friend to all mankind. He died a faithful ſervant of Chriſt, on the 8th day of Feb. O. S. 1747, aged 80.
Here alſo lie the remains of his ſon
Thomas Moſſom, eſq.
Of the city of Kilkenny, alderman. He died univerſally acknowledged a ſteady friend and good man: on the 15th day of Aug. 1777, aged 56 years. This monument is erected by his executrix according to his directions.

Biſhop

(z) Anecdotes of painting, vol. 2. pag. 26.

Biſhop Horsfall is buried in the church, with a monumental ſtone laid flat on the floor.

Biſhop Williams is interred on the ſouth ſide of the chancel.

Biſhop Mapilton near St. Mary's chapel.

Biſhop St. Leger near Mapilton.

Biſhop Ledred on the north ſide of the high altar.

Biſhop Hacket before the altar.

Biſhop O Hedian in a chapel at the weſt end of the cathedral.

Biſhop Gafney in a chapel on the north ſide of the choir.

On a marble tablet in the north tranſept.

Benefactors

For adorning the cathedral of St. Canice, 1756.

	Guineas.		Guineas.
Dr. Pococke, biſhop of Oſſory	100	J. Alcock, preb.	10
Dean and Chapter of St. Canice	252	Earl of Oſſory	20
John Lewis, dean	30	Earl of Wandesford	12
Dr. Dawſon, chantor	15	Lord Viſcount Mountgarret	20
R. Cocking, chancellor	10	Lord Viſcount Charlemount	14
J. Stannard, treaſurer	10	Lord Viſc. Aſhbrook	20
R. Stewart, preb.	10	Friendly Brothers, Kilkenny	10
W. Connel, preb.	10	Sir William Evans Morres, Bt.	10
Dr. Sandford, preb.	15	Eland Moſſom, eſq;	10
Wm. Cockburn, preb.	20	Thomas Waite, eſq;	10
R. Watts, preb.	10		

Clergy

Clergy of the Dioceſe.

	Guineas.
M. Veſey, A. M.	10
Ralph Hawtrey, A.M.	10
J. Price, A. M.	10
Mervyn Archdall, A. M.	20
Arthur Webb, A.M.	10
J. Millea, A. M.	5
John Waring, A.M.	10
W. Watts, A. M.	9
W. Auſtin, L.L.B.	5
T. Collier, A. M.	5
R. Lloyd	5
H. Candler, A. M.	10
C. Jackſon, A. M.	10
R. Connel, L. L. B.	3
D. Cuffe, A. M.	5
Dr. Fell	5
T. Pack, A. M.	5
P. Sone, A. M.	5
J. Veſey, A. M.	5
T. Candler, A. B.	10

	Guineas.
Patrick Wemys, eſq;	10
J. Agar, eſq; Gowran	10
Hercules Langriſhe, eſq;	5
T. A. eſq;	14
G. Biſhopp, eſq;	5
Ro. Vicars, eſq;	2
C. Doyle, eſq;	5
Redmond Morres, eſq;	5
Tho. Teniſon, eſq;	5
Mrs. Archbold	5
Mrs. Pococke, ſen.	10
Mrs. Pococke, jun.	5
Edw. Brereton, eſq;	5
Dr. Macaulay, vicar general	5
R. Dawſon, eſq;	10
Dr. Hewetſon	10
E. Moſſom	10
Antony Blunt, eſq;	10
N. Marten, A. M.	20
T. Burton, A. M.	20
Hugh Waring, eſq;	5

The names of the biſhops of Oſſory, with the dates of their ſucceſſion.

		A. D.
1	Donald O Fogarty ſucceeded	1152
2	Felix O Dullany -	1178
3	Hugh Rufus - -	1202
4	Peter Maneſin -	1218
5	William of Kilkenny -	1229
6	Walter de Brackell -	1232

7 Geffry

		A. D.
7	Geffry of Turvill -	1244
8	Hugh de Mapilton -	1251
9	Hugh 3d. -	1257
10	Geffry St. Leger -	1260
11	Roger of Wexford -	1287
12	Michael of Exeter -	1289
13	William Fitz John -	1302
14	Richard Ledred -	1318
15	John of Tatenale -	1360
16	Alexander Balſcot -	1371
17	Richard Northalis -	1386
18	Thomas Peverell -	1397
19	John Griffin -	1398
20	John Waltam -	1399
21	Roger of Appleby -	1400
22	John Volcan -	1404
23	Thomas Snell -	1405
24	Patrick Ragged -	1417
25	Dennis O Dea -	1421
26	Thomas Barry -	1428
27	David Hacket -	1460
28	John O Hedian -	1479
29	Oliver Cantwell -	1488
30	Milo Baron - -	1527
31	John Bale - -	1552
32	John Thonery - -	1553
33	Chriſtopher Gafney -	1565
34	Nicholas Walſh -	1577
35	John Horsfall - -	1586
36	Richard Deane -	1609
37	Jonas Wheeler -	1613
38	Griffith Williams -	1641

		A. D.
39	John Parry - -	1672
40	Benjamin Parry -	1677
41	Michael Ward - -	1678
42	Thomas Otway -	1679
43	John Hartſtonge -	1693
44	Sir Thomas Veſey, Bart.	1714
45	Edward Tenniſon -	1731
46	Charles Eſte - -	1735
47	Anthony Dopping -	1741
48	Michael Cox - -	1742
49	Edward Maurice -	1754
50	Richard Pococke -	1756
51	Charles Dogdſon -	1765
52	William Newcome -	1775
53	John Hotham - -	1779

For the honour of the ſee of Oſſory we muſt obſerve, that two of its biſhops were lords juſtices; four lords chancellors; three lord treaſurers; two tranſlated to archbiſhopricks; one an ambaſſador; and one chancellor of the exchequer.

SECT. VI.

THE chapter of St. Canice is compoſed of twelve members: the dean, chantor, chancellor, treaſurer, archdeacon, and the prebendaries of Blackrath, Aghour, Mayne, Killamery, Taſcoffin, Kilmanagh and Cloneamary; one moiety of Taſcoffin belongs to the chantor, the other to the archdeacon, by a definitive ſentence of archbiſhop Margetſon, the 19th day of Nov. 1662.

The

The (*a*) dean for the time being, was antiently lord of the manor of the glebe, which contained all the inhabitants round the cathedral; and before 1640, had a ſeneſchal who held courts leet and courts baron. The deanery is at the S. E. ſide of the cathedral. Dean Hill, about 1671, expended 160*l.* upon it; but it becoming quite ruinous, the preſent dean (Mr. Lewis) rebuilt it and made it a neat and commodious habitation, with a handſome garden adjoining. In the houſe is a half length of the beautiful unfortunate Mary, with this inſcription: "Maria Scotorum regina ætatis ſuæ, 18. Johannes Medina, eques, pinxit."

A head of cardinal Wolſey.

The chantor had a manſe houſe and garden, ruined in the wars, on the ſouth ſide of the cathedral, mearing on the eaſt with the dean's garden and houſe.

The chancellor had formerly an houſe in Iriſh-town, built on his orchard. The orchard mears on the W. with the ſtreet leading to Troy's gate; on the E. with the Nore; on the N. with the lands of the vicar's choral, and on the S. with the lands of Taſcoffin and the river Bregagh, running by the city walls. A ſtone tan-houſe by the Nore ſide belonged to the chancellor, and James Toovey, malſter, poſſeſſed part of the orchard, ruined in the wars.

The treaſurer's manſe houſe mears on the W. with the river Nore, on the S. with the vicars choral's houſe, and the chancellor's tan-houſe (formerly Murphy's now Webb's) on the E. with the ſtreet

(*a*) From biſhop Otway's viſitation book, MS. in the palace, dated 1672.

ſtreet leading from the Butts to Troy's gate, on the N. with the houſe that was alderman Connel's.

The archdeacon's manſe houſe is S. of St. Canice, together with a ſmall garden S. of the houſe, ruinous. The archdeacon viſits the dioceſe from the 30th Sept. to the 3d Feb.

The houſe of the prebendary of Killamery is now converted into an alms-houſe, on the W. of the cathedral, adjoining to the antient ſchool-houſe of the dioceſe; the garden to it ſtill belongs to the prebendary.

The manſe houſe of the prebendary of Taſcoffin meared on the E. with the chancellor's orchard, on the W. with King-ſtreet, on the N. with the chancellor's orchard, and on the S. with the vicar's houſe.

The dean and ſix of the chapter make a quorum. Thus far from biſhop Otway's viſitation book. To this valuable document we are alſo indebted for the following account of the

VICARS CHORAL.

They are a very antient corporation, by the ſtyle of the vicars choral and perpetuals of the common hall, near the cathedral. They were liberally endowed by biſhop St. Leger, who gave them his manſe and lodging, the rectory of Kilcaſh, and a revenue de manubrinnio or manubrennio, which ſeems to be a portion of ground corn, and one mark annually, payable by the abbot of Douſke, out of the lands of Scomberloway or Stromkerlavin. The manſe and lodging here mentioned were the common hall and dependant buildings, and the palace and place of reſidence

of

of the biſhops of Oſſory before the palaces of Aghour and Dorogh were erected. Biſhop Hacket beſtowed on them the church of Ballybur, and biſhop Cantwell that of St. Mæl, and biſhop Thonery appointed four choiriſters.

In 1540, John Allen (*b*) lord chancellor, George Browne archbiſhop of Dublin, and William Brabazon treaſurer of Ireland, were nominated by Hen. VIII. commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes throughout the kingdom. Some differences having ariſen between dean Cleere and the vicars, the commiſſioners viſited the houſe, when its ancient conſtitution and rules were reviewed, and ſome new regulations eſtabliſhed. From a peruſal of the record we may obſerve, that the inſtitution was originally monaſtic, or favoured very much of it. Their different cells or apartments; their common hall; their reading after meals; their ſilence at other times; their not ſuffering any man or maid ſervant in the college; their attending each other, with no mention of matrimony or families, are ſtrong proofs of monkiſh diſcipline; nor did Henry's commiſſioners make alterations in theſe particulars; they are retained in the antient ſtatutes of our univerſity and other collegiate bodies, as beſt calculated for ſeminaries of learning.

Before the rebellion of 1641, the corporation of vicars conſiſted of the dean's, chantor's, chancellor's and treaſurer's vicars, and the archdeacon's and prebendaries of Aghour, Mayne and Blackrath's ſtipendiaries, and four choiriſters; two of the latter were

(*b*) MS. Otway, ſupra. Appendix VIII.

were ſtipendiaries of the dean and chapter, and two were maintained by the houſe.

On a vacancy of a ſtall in the common-hall, the dignitaries and prebendaries made their preſentation to the dean of a perſon for the place. He was examined by the dean as to his life and morals, by the chantor as to his ſkill in ſinging, and by the chancellor as to his learning; and being approved of, he was inſtituted by the dean or ſub-dean as vicar choral. None were vicars of the hall before they were prieſts, though they actually lived in the hall and were maintained by the houſe. On a vacancy, the ſenior choriſter was preſented by the patron of the ſtall, and was thereupon made and called, ſtipendiary of ſuch a ſtall, until fit to be ordained prieſt, and then he was inſtalled vicar: but during his being ſtipendiary, he had as large a ſtipend as any of the vicars; ſo that the difference between a vicar and ſtipendiary was this; the vicar was a prieſt and was beneficed in the dioceſe at large, but the ſtipendiary was a layman, and had a ſupport from the houſe.

By the antient foundation, the dean, biſhop and archbiſhop, for juſt cauſes, might remove a vicar. The vicars were to attend the choir, and ſerve the offices of the houſe alternately. The œconomiſt was to be choſen by the vicars, and to ſtate his accounts to them weekly, and to the dean twice a year. The church of Kilkeſy was annexed to the treaſurerſhip of the houſe. Whatever this pariſh might have formerly produced, we (*c*) are told biſhop Tenniſon left 40*l.* per annum to one Michael Stephenſon,

(*c*) Ware's Biſhops, pag. 433.

Stephenſon, a deacon, during his life, to cathecize the children of papiſts in that pariſh, it being a wild and mountainous part of the dioceſe of Oſſory.

In 1630, the vicars and ſtipendiaries had the following ſums divided among them, as their annual ſtipends.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Dean's vicar - -	3	1	3¾
Chantor's - -	3	6	7½
Chancellor's -	3	4	0
Treaſurer's - -	3	3	0
Archdeacon's ſtipendiary	3	3	7½
Prebendary's of Blackrath	2	18	0
——— of Aghour -	3	0	6½
——— of Mayne -	3	0	3
	24	17	4¼

Beſides the foregoing, they had 65 2 0 expended by their purveyor for their table; and they kept for their own uſe, the tythe corn of the pariſh of St. Canice, which amounted to 297 barrels. From this ſtate of their revenue, with their other endowments, we may judge how well able they were to keep hoſpitality; but the enſuing troubles deprived them of their income, and left but a ſcanty ſupport for three vicars. In 1677, the duke of Ormond took from them the town and lands of Park, as part of his forty-nine arrears; and which in 1679, were worth 40*l.* per annum. His grace alſo withheld the chiefries of many houſes in and about Kilkenny, their property; and in the town of Callan, they had houſes worth 6*l.* 7*s.* a year. Biſhop Parry paſſed patents for the lands of Racanigan and St. Maul's, part of their eſtate,

eſtate, and worth annually 8*l.* reſerving to them only fifteen ſhillings.

The LIBRARY

Is ſituated at the N. W. end of the churchyard. The following account of it, and of biſhop Williams's alms houſe is extracted from a memorial of the dean and chapter of St. Canice, preſented to Dr. King, archbiſhop of Dublin, and Dr. Hartſtonge, biſhop of Oſſory, 31ſt May 1712, and is in MS. in the palace.

" We the dean and chapter, being appointed by your lordſhip's order and the conſent of the rev. Mr. W. to inſpect the caſe of the widows alms-houſe, founded by biſhop Williams, as alſo the caſe of the library founded by biſhop Otway, and to receive and examine the ſurviving executors accounts, and to report what was neceſſary to be done to preſerve theſe charities and benefactions, from being intirely ſunk and defeated, do repreſent the following ſtate of facts.

Biſhop Williams, by his will, left the lands of Fermoy, then ſet to col. Wheeler for 40*l.* per ann. for the maintenance of eight poor widows in an alms-houſe that he had built in his life time. He made Mr. W. and archdeacon Dryſdale his executors, who ſold ſaid land to Jonah Wheeler of Grenan, Eſq; for 400*l.* which is now worth 100*l.* per ann. though they had, in our opinion, no power ſo to do. The ſaid 400*l.* is ſo far from being ſecured, that there is great hazard of its being loſt. Mr. W. endeavours to clear himſelf by ſaying, that Mr. Dryſdale ſold the land without his knowledge, and that biſhop Williams promiſed Col. Oliver

Oliver Wheeler, father of Jonah, on the payment of 400*l.* to make over the fee ſimple of the eſtate to him. To this we anſwer, that Mr. W. cannot be ignorant of the tranſaction, unjuſtly aſcribed as the ſole act of Mr. Dryſdale, as Mr. W. has 200*l.* of the money in his hands; and if the biſhop conſidered himſelf as under obligation to col. Wheeler, he never would have made an abſolute deviſe to the poor widows.

Biſhop Otway, by his will, made Dr. Ryder biſhop of Killaloe, and ſaid Mr. W. his executors, and left all his effects, except 947*l.* in legacies, to be diſpoſed of to charitable uſes, and particularly makes this bequeſt and deviſe:—"Item, I give my books and 200*l.* in money, and more if needful, for the beginning a library for the cathedral church of St. Canice, for the uſe of the clergy about it; deſiring the dean and chapter of St. Canice to grant for that uſe, the upper ſtory of the old ſchool-houſe, joining the alms-houſe throughout, for the flooring of which with ſubſtantial timber and boards; roofing and ſlating it; for deſks and ſhelves and chains for every particular book; for windows, window ſhuts, doors and chimney to be built in it, I appoint 100*l.* owing me by bill by Agmond. Cuffe of Caſtleinch, Eſq; as likewiſe 97*l.* 10*s.* of Spaniſh and other foreign gold, be it more or leſs, now in the hands of George Thornton, as by his notes now in my cuſtody appeareth. And if the two ſaid ſums ſhall not be ſufficient to the aforeſaid purpoſes, that the executor ſhall take ſo much of the caſh in his hands, as ſhall finiſh it. This I would have done as ſoon as poſſible after my

my deceaſe. Item, I will that the ſum of 100*l.* be laid out to purchaſe 10*l.* a year in houſes or lands: 5*l.* thereof ſhall be for the library-keeper, whom I would have to be one of the vicars of St. Canice (but always choſen by the preſent biſhop) and the other 5*l.* to be laid out in coals for weekly fires to be made in the library to preſerve the books."

"We find that the executors built the library as it now ſtands, with an upper and lower ſtory, whereas they were obliged to build only an upper ſtory: but having a diſcretionary power in diſpoſing of the biſhop's effects to publick benefactions, and pious uſes, they found it convenient ſo to do; in order that the lower ſtory ſhould be a convenient habitation for the library-keeper, and a chamber for the preaching dignitaries and prebendaries to lodge in, in the week of their attendance in the cathedral: nor can Mr. W. apply the reſt of the biſhop's effects, as he gives out he will, to his private uſe, as he is but under executor, and can reap no benefit but by his legacy of 50*l.*

"We obſerve further, that Mr. W. hath not yet chained the books, nor made the purchaſe of 10*l.* nor hath he paid the library-keeper, who was at great expences, as appears by the following award:—

"Whereas there did ariſe ſeveral controverſies and differences between the rev. Gyles Clarke and the rev. Mr. W. on which there is a ſuit now depending in the chancery of her majeſty's court of exchequer commenced by ſaid Clarke againſt ſaid W. as ſurviving executor of the late biſhop of Oſſory. And whereas by mutual conſent of both

parties, all the matters and claims in diſpute are referred to the final arbitrement of Richard Connel of the city of Kilkenny, Eſq; on behalf of Clarke, and to Richard Uniacke of the ſame, Eſq; on behalf of W. and that John Waring ſhould be umpire. Said Connel and Uniacke not agreeing, now I John Waring as umpire, do order ſaid W. by the firſt of Feb. next, to pay ſaid Clarke the ſum of 45*l.* for nine years ſalary due, from the 26th of July 1694. I do further order the ſaid W. to pay the ſaid Clarke the ſum of 30*l.* for ſix years coals. I do order the ſaid W. to pay the ſaid Clarke the ſum of 10*l.* annually, the firſt payment to be made the 26th of July, 1703, and I do order 100*l.* to be placed in the hands of John, lord biſhop of Oſſory, in truſt, to purchaſe 10*l.* per annum.

"Mr. W. denied complying, becauſe the umpirage was not made according to the niceties of law. The dean and chapter ſet forth, that at the triennial viſitation, 17 July 1706, he promiſed the archbiſhop to account on oath, which however he did not."

What further was done, the writer, at preſent, knows not. The room is handſome, and the books are in preſſes and on ſhelves, and under it is a comfortable dwelling for the librarian.

Biſhop Maurice, by his will, dated the 6th Jan. 1756, makes the following bequeſts:—

"I leave my printed books to the library founded by biſhop Otway, at Kilkenny; all that are now at Dunmore, as well as thoſe that are now at Kilkenny, together with ten double caſes of one form, made of Danzick oak, now in my library at

at Dunmore. Provided a fair catalogue be made of the books, and ſecurity given by the librarian to exhibit them once every year, or oftner if occaſion, to two perſons appointed by the biſhop, in his own preſence if convenient. Provided likewiſe, that an oath be taken by the librarian, not to embezzle, deface or lend any book out of the library, but to give due attendance to ſuch clergymen and gentlemen as may be diſpoſed to read there, from ſix o'clock in the morning, to the tolling of the bell for morning prayers at the cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny.

" And for his attendance and care of thoſe books, I bequeath to the librarian and his ſucceſſors, appointed by the biſhop, 20*l.* a year to be paid out of my eſtate at Miltown in the county of Kilkenny. And if it ſhall happen that this legacy ſhall be found not to anſwer the purpoſe intended, I impower the biſhop of Oſſory for the time being, with the conſent of the dean and chapter of St. Canice, to ſell the books, and apply their price together with the ſaid ſalary of the librarian towards raiſing or adorning the imperfect ſteeple of their cathedral. And whereas a knowledge and practice of books is requiſite to range them ſo as they may be readily found, I deſire my good friend, doctor Lawſon, ſenior fellow and firſt librarian of Trinity college near Dublin, to lend his hand, to tranſport, lodge and place them to advantage: for which trouble I bequeath to him the ſilver candleſtick, now in my ſtudy, and 20*l.* to buy him a mourning ring." They were accordingly placed in the library: but

their utility is very little, if any, as there is no catalogue at preſent.

The following reflections on the origin of public and dioceſan libraries may, perhaps, amuſe the reader, after the foregoing tedious details: they are connected with the ſubject now under conſideration, and have therefore ſome claim to the reader's indulgence.

The refinement of manners; the progreſs of literature, and the moſt intereſting circumſtances in the riſe and fall of empires are intimately united with an inquiry into the antiquity and uſe of publick libraries. Scarcely had a nation emerged from barbariſm and joined in civil ſociety, but letters became neceſſary. The rudiments of poſitive laws were to be collected; alliances with neighbouring powers to be aſcertained, and the experience, the improvements and tranſactions of every year to be recorded. In collections of national archives are to be traced the earlieſt veſtiges of publick libraries.

The ſculptured rock and rude ſong ſerved the erratic inhabitants of the foreſt to keep alive the remembrance of their atchievements; to urge them to heroic deeds and animate them in the conflict: to define the limits of their property, and the extent of their conqueſts. But, in more cultivated periods, tradition was found a precarious arbiter of human affairs: authentic documents were to be recurred to: publick treaties were to be produced, and war or peace awaited their evidence.

If learning had not been of divine origin, it was conſecrated by the hands that firſt poliſhed and improved

improved it. The ſacerdotal order (*d*) among the Jews, the Chaldeans and Egyptians devoted their time to its cultivation, it was the employment of their lives. Precluded by publick munificence from every attention to ſecular concerns, it was then their indiſpenſable duty: their labours abundantly recompenced their fellow-citizens, and did honour to themſelves. The Babylonians erected the nobleſt monument the world ever ſaw, in a (*e*) body of celeſtial obſervations for 700 years. With ſuch matured geniuſſes, and with ſuch aſtoniſhing perſeverance, to what perfection muſt they not have brought every other ſcience; and what admirable treaſures of eaſtern wiſdom muſt not their libraries have contained? Theſe are the ages called fabulous and heroic:—heroic they certainly were, if the nobleſt productions of the human underſtanding merit that epithet: and they are no farther fabulous, than being involved in the dark veil of antiquity, and (*f*) rendered contemptible by the abortive ſuperfetations of numerous Greek ſcioliſts. It was at the period of their greateſt glory and empire that thoſe exertions of genius and of induſtry are recorded.

"(*g*) When the arts and ſciences, ſays an elegant writer, come to perfection in any ſtate, from that moment they naturally, or rather neceſſarily decline." At this moment of perfection, publick libraries

(*d*) Joſeph. contra Apion. Malach. chap. 2. 7. Deut. 31. 26. 2 Macc. ii. 13.

(*e*) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56.

(*f*) See the learned Bryant's analyſis of antient mythology, paſſ.

(*g*) Hume's Eſſays, vol. 1. p. 51.

libraries were eſtabliſhed in Egypt, in Greece and Rome. The obſervation is, perhaps, new; the fact is indiſputable and the detail curious.

Read the account of the ſepulchre of Oſmandyas, king of Egypt, which for deſign, magnificence and execution, required, in the opinion of an excellent (*h*) judge, the combined efforts of human ingenuity: and yet its principal ornament was the ſacred library contiguous to it. We may eſtimate the progreſs of the Egyptians in literature as well as in mechanics and the fine arts, from the inſcription on this library, which was (*i*)

——— Ψυχῆς Ἰατρεῖον ———

——— Medicatorium animæ ———

From (*k*) thence Thales, Pythagoras, Plato and Herodotus derived thoſe rich ſtreams which fertilized and highly improved Grecian philoſophy and Grecian hiſtory.

Piſiſtratus, notwithſtanding the dark ſhade thrown over his character by turbulent demagogues and prejudiced writers, was an amiable and accompliſhed (*l*) prince. His love of learning was conſpicuous,

(*h*) It was an aſtoniſhing building, as deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. and required more extenſive abilities to complete than the pyramids. Si paulò penitius conſidero, ſays Kircher, auſim ſanctè affirmare, hoſce ſummi ingenii homines, uti nihil eos humanarum ſcientiarum latuit, ita earum ope humanis quoque operibus majora præſtitiſſe, cum vel in una fabrica efformanda omnes artes et ſcientias phyſicam et mathematicam conſpiraſſe videam. In Turr. Babel. lib. 2. ſec. 3. cap. 3.

(*i*) Diodor. Sic. ſupra. St. Baſil alludes to this, when he ſays:—Τὸν περίφορον ευρίσκει τῳ ἀρρῶστήματι φάρμακον. And Philemon:—Ψυχῆς ἰατρὸν κατέλειπεν τὰ γράμματα.

(*k*) Lactant. de ſapient. ver. lib. 4. cap. 2.

(*l*) So I call him inſtead of tyrant, his uſual addition. Gataker. Cinn. pag. 8.

ſpicuous, in collecting Homer's poems and erecting the firſt publick library in (*m*) Greece. Solon, his kinſman, had perfected the Athenian legiſlation: the city of Athens was extenſive and beautiful, and the ſtrength of the ſtate ſo conſiderable, as enabled it, in a few years after, to cope with the united force of the Perſian empire.

The taſte for collecting books was not confined to Athens alone; it was extended over Greece, as we learn from (*n*) Athenæus; who mentions the libraries of Polycrates the Samian; Nicocrates the Cyprian; Euclides the Athenian; Euripides the poet, and Ariſtotle the philoſopher. Like the bee that reſts upon and examines every flower, but extracts thoſe ſweets alone that are proper for honey, ſo is the man in ſearch of erudition amid a number of books: this compariſon of Iſocrates very fully conveys an idea of the multiplicity of books in Athens at this time, and is the fineſt eulogium on their admirers.

Attalus and Ptolemy Philadelphus founded their libraries at Pergamus and Alexandria in the moſt flouriſhing ſituation of their affairs. It was not until after the conqueſt of Macedon by Æmilius Paulus, and the Pontic expedition of Lucullus, that thoſe conquerors, worthy the virtuous days of the republick, eſtabliſhed collections of books at Rome. As yet there was no publick library in that capital: Auguſtus completed one in imitation of the

(*m*) Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. 6. cap. 17.

(*n*) Deipnoſoph. lib. 1.

(*o*) Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὴν μέλιτταν ὀρῶμεν, &c. a moſt beautiful ſimile, comparing the aſſiduity and ſelection of a man of learning, to the ſame qualities in the bee. Orat. ad Demonic. ſub finem.

the Egyptian. Ovid tells us, that below was a portico, in which was the temple of Juno: and above it the books were depoſited, and contiguous to it was the theatre of Marcellus.

We now ſee, if any thing can mark deciſively the flouriſhing eras of antient empires, it is the erection of publick libraries. In the infancy of learning, books were few. In Greece, the ſubjects of poetry, oratory and the abſtracted ſciences were monopolized by Homer, Sophocles, Demoſthenes, Euclid and Ariſtotle (*p*). Deſpairing to equal them, ſubſequent writers contented themſelves with reducing that into an art, which before had been the offspring of genius and of nature. New compoſitions appeared, which depended on penetration, on induſtry, much reading, mature reflection and practical obſervations; each a fruitful ſource for multiplying books and furniſhing libraries. By this time the taſte of the nation was fixed; its manners poliſhed; its civilization perfect, and its power at the height. At this period Vitruvius (*q*) directs publick libraries to be built, as contributing to national ſplendour and magnificence: but they ſerved other important purpoſes: they arreſted learning in its flight, and ſtemmed the incroaching torrents of ignorance and barbariſm.

From the faint glimmerings of hiſtory we find they had this effect in Chaldea and Egypt: for thoſe

(*p*) Among other fine obſervations of Velleius Paterculus this is to our purpoſe: "Ut primo ad conſequendos, quos priores ducimus, accendimur: ita, ubi aut præteriri, aut æquari eos poſſe deſperavimus, ſtudium cum ſpe ſeneſcit; et quod aſſequi non poteſt, ſequi deſinit, et, vel occupatam relinquens materiam, quærit novam." Lib. 1.

(*q*) Lib. 6. cap. 8.

thoſe nations, even when Grecian literature was at its ſummit, preſerved the reputation of their former wiſdom. The ſame is obſervable of Greece, which notwithſtanding its being deſpoiled of its libraries by the Romans, could not be totally deprived of books; they were too numerous to ſuffer the people to fall into groſs ignorance. A general diffuſion of learning gave them a ſuperiority over their conquerors and made them in their moſt depreſſed ſtate their equals in ſcience. (r) Ireland exhibited the ſame ſtriking fact: the Daniſh tyranny of 200 years was not able to extinguiſh learning in that iſland, the multiplicity of literary compoſitions prevented it. So that an Engliſh writer ſays of his father with great truth:

Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi
Ivit ad Hibernos, ſophiâ mirabili claros.
Nurtur'd from youth in learning's mazy ſtore
He ſought, for wiſdom fam'd, Hibernia's ſhore.

The Roman genius did not produce books with the rapidity of the Grecian; nor do we read of libraries in their colonies and ſettlements; they were moſtly (s) confined to the capital: ſo that when the inundations of barbarians overturned the empire, and Rome was taken and her libraries deſtroyed, learning, almoſt inſtantly, became extinct.

It was before obſerved, that the moſt ſacred places were the repoſitories of books. Thus Moſes, when

(r) As will be ſeen in the hiſtory of the church of Ireland in the eleventh century, by the editor of this Number.

(s) By the conſtitutions of Valentinian and Theodoſius it is very plain, that Rome was the chief univerſity of the empire. Cod. Theodos. lib. 14. tit. 19. l. 1. A. D. 370.

when the book of the law was perfected, ordered it to be placed by the ſide of the ark of the covenant: and Judas Maccabeus, imitating the example of Nehemiah, built a library in the temple, and collected there the books of the prophets and the epiſtles of the Kings. The Chriſtians followed ſuch patterns. In the third century, Alexander biſhop of Jeruſalem founded a library in that city: it was for the uſe of the clergy: out of this library ſays (*t*) Euſebius, we ourſelves have gathered matter for the ſubject now in hand; this is, for his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. And St. Auguſtin bequeathed his collection of books to his church of Hippo.

Such then is the origin of Dioceſan libraries: an inſtitution, which, if properly conducted, would preſerve to the clergy that pre-eminence in literature, by which, in all ages they have claimed reſpect, and frequently admiration. Ignorance in the ſacred order is a ſure prognoſtic of the decay of religion and the corruption of morality. "My (*u*) people are deſtroyed for lack of knowledge: becauſe thou haſt rejected knowledge, I will alſo reject thee, that thou ſhalt be no prieſt to me. The (*w*) prieſt's lips ſhould keep knowledge, and the people ſhould ſeek the law at his mouth."

Want

(*t*) Hiſt. Ecc. lib. 6. cap. 20. Pamphilus founded a library in the church of Cæſarea in Paleſtine; collected all the eccleſiaſtical writers, and tranſcribed with his own hand the works of Origen: it was there Jerom found his exegeſis on the twelve prophets. De Scriptor. cap. 75. This was in 294. Cavii hiſt. literar. pag. 76. See more in Bingham's antiquities of the Chriſtian church. Book 8. chap. 7.

(*u*) Hoſea, iv. 6.

(*w*) Malachi, ii. 7. The Levitical prieſthood was bound to inſtruct the people in the law. Deut. xxxiii. 10. Levit. x. 11,

Want of books is a ſore evil, not only to ſtudious men, but it damps the warmth of the beſt diſpoſed and moſt eager after information. A ſlender ſupport and remote ſettlement too frequently induce a languor, fatal to a profeſſion, which requires every aid. Thoſe pious and good men who have formed Dioceſan libraries did all in their (*x*) power to obviate thoſe complaints. Yet the following catalogue evinces how little has been done in this way, and, from the principle before laid down, demonſtrates how far removed we are from perfection in the arts and ſciences.

In 1692 Biſhop Otway founded a library at St. Canice, Kilkenny.

1698 Archbiſhop Marſh at St. Sepulchre's, Dublin.

1720 Biſhop Browne at Cork.

1726 Archbiſhop King at Derry.

1737 Biſhop Foſter at Raphoe.

And our preſent excellent and publick-ſpirited primate, has formed a noble foundation at Armagh.

If there are more, they have not come to the writer's knowledge. The anecdotes of the Oſſorian library will warn us to avoid a capital error in ſuch eſtabliſhments, that of making them poſthumous works.

11, and the cities of the Levites were colleges diſperſed among the tribes. Stillingfleet's Eccles. cafes, pag. 77. edit. 8vo.

(*x*) Godwin ſpeaking of archbiſhop Matthew, who erected a publick library at Briſtol, ſays:—"Opus, hercle, egregium, quodque plures utinam imiterentur, cum, præ librorum inopia, plurimi tenuioris ſortis miniſtri tanquam falcibus deſtituti, a ſegete Dominica demetenda ſæpenumero detineantur." De Præſul. Angl. pag. 90. edit. 2da.

works. When they are not begun and finiſhed in the founder's life time, their deſign is fruſtrated, and this diſappointment is attended with fraud, perjury and injuſtice. Archbiſhop Marſh and the preſent primate have effectually prevented ſuch conſequences, by regulating whilſt living every matter relative to their noble foundations, and confirming it by parliamentary ſanction.

The appointment of a perſon to the office of librarian is often not well conſidered. In the antient Roman church he was called (*y*) chancellor, and his (*z*) ſtation was moſt important and reſpectable. On the erection of cathedrals he was the firſt or ſecond dignitary of the chapter: examined the candidates for orders: took care of the library, the ſervice books, and did all the literary buſineſs of his body. The ſtatutes of the churches of Litchfield and London, in the (*a*) monaſticon, are full to thoſe points. We may aſcend to much earlier times, and mention men of the higheſt accompliſhments, who were librarians: (*b*) as Demetrius Phalereus, Callimachus, Apollonius and Varro. An ignorant librarian is a contradiction in terms: he ſhould be a perſon of abilities, who could direct the younger clergy in their ſtudies, and aſſiſt poſſibly the more mature: he would be beloved as a parent and reverenced as a maſter: the timidity of infant genius

(*y*) Du Cange, in voce.

(*z*) Ut vix vel bonum judicetur, quod Romani cancellarii prius non fuerit examinatum judicio, moderatum conſilio, ſtudio roboratum et confirmatum ajutorio. St. Bernardi epiſt. 313.

(*a*) Tom. 3. pag. 24. 339.

(*b*) Hottinger. Biblioth. quadripart. pag. 79.

genius would receive countenance and aid from him, and the moſt poliſhed productions would be improved by his peruſal.

It would exceed the limits of this little excurſion to be more minute: the creating a fund by a ſmall annual ſubſcription for purchaſing books: the lending books under certain regulations, and the exciting emulation among the clergy, are objects very deſerving of notice.

We ſhall now proceed with a liſt of the deans of St. Canice, and the dates of their ſucceſſion.

DEANS.	A. D.
1 Henry Pembroke -	1245
2 Roger de Wexford -	1269
3 Adam Trillock -	1347
4 Thomas Archer -	1469
5 John Strange -	1472
6 Edmund Comerford -	1502
7 James Cleere - -	1504
8 Thomas Lancaſter (c) -	1550
9 William Johnſon -	1559
10 David Cleere - -	1582
11 Richard Deane -	1603
12 John Tod - -	1610
13 Abſalom Gethinge -	1616
14 Jenkin Mayos -	1620
15 Barnabas Boulger -	
16 Edward Warren -	1630
17 Thomas Ledſhame -	1661
18 Daniel Neylan, D. D. -	1666
19 Joſeph Teate -	1667

20 Thomas

(c) He held this deanery with the ſee of Kildare.

20 Thomas Hill - - 1670
21 Benjamin Parry - 1673
22 John Pooley - - 1675
23 Robert Moſſom, D. D. 1702
24 Robert Watts, D. D. - 1747
25 John Lewis, A. M. -

ROUND TOWER.

There is a beautiful one and of great height ſtanding at the ſouth ſide of the cathedral. We have profeſſedly treated of thoſe curious ſtructures in the ſixth number of this Collectanea, to which we beg leave to refer the reader.

SCHOOL HOUSE.

"In the weſte of the church-yard of late (*d*), ſays Stanihurſt, have been founded a grammar-ſchoole by the right honorable Peirce or Peter Butler, erle of Ormond and Oſſorie, and by his wife the counteſſe of Ormond, the lady Margaret Fitz Gerald, ſiſter to Gerald Fitz Gerald, the erle of Kildare that laſt was.

Out

(*d*) Apud Hollingſhed, ſupra. In another work he ſays: Extat in hoc oppido ſchola extructa opibus clariſſimi, viri, Petri Butleri, Ormondiæ et Oſſoriæ comitis, et uxoris ejus quæ Margarita Giralda vocabatur. Fæmina fuit ſpectatiſſima; non modo ſumma generis nobilitate, quippe comitis Kildariæ filia, ſed rerum etiam prudentia ſupra muliebrem captum, prædita. Hic ludum aperuit noſtra ætate, Petrus Whitus, cujus in totam rempublicam ſumma conſtant merita. Ex illius etiam ſchola, tanquam ex equo Troïco, homines literatiſſimi reipublicæ in lucem prodierunt. Quos ego hic Whiteos, quos Quemerfordos, quos Walſheos, quos Wadingos, quos Dormeros, quos Shethos, quos Garveos, quos Butleros, quos Archeros, quos Strongos, quos Lumbardos, excellentes ingenio et doctrina viros, commemorare potuiſſem; qui primis temporibus ætatis in ejus diſciplinam ſe tradiderant. Stanihurſt. de reb. in Hib. geſtis, pag. 25.

Out of which ſchoole have ſprouted ſuch proper impes, through the painfull diligence and labourſome induſtrie of that famous lettered man, Mr. Peter White, ſometime fellow of Oriel college in Oxford, and ſchoolemaſter in Kilkennie (as generallie the whole weale publicke of Ireland, and eſpeciallie the ſouthern parts of that iſland, are greatly thereby furthered).

This gentleman's method of training up youth was rare and ſingular; framing the education according to the ſcholar's veine: if he found him free, he would bridle him like a wiſe Iſocrates from his booke; if he perceived him him to be dull, he would ſpur him forward; if he underſtood he was the worſe for beating, he would win him with rewards. Finallie, by interlaſing ſtudie with recreation, ſorrow with mirth, pain with pleaſure, ſowerneſſe with ſweetneſſe, roughneſſe with mildneſſe, he had ſo good ſucceſſe in ſchooling his pupils, as in good ſooth, I may boldlie bide by it, that in the realme of Ireland was no grammar ſchool ſo good, in England, I am aſſured, none better. And becauſe it was my happie hap (God and my parents be thanked) to have been one of his crue, I take it to ſtande with my dutie, ſith I may not ſtretch mine abilitie in requiting his good turns, yet to manifeſt my good will in remembering his pains. And certes, I will acknowledge myſelf ſo much bound, and beholden to him and his, as for his ſake I reverence the meaneſt ſtone cemented in the walls of that famous ſchoole."

In 1670, Dr. Edward Jones, afterwards biſhop of Clovne, was maſter of this ſchool; as was Dr.

Dr. Henry Ryder in 1680, who was promoted to the ſee of Killaloe.

The 18th of March, 1684, the duke of Ormond granted a new charter to the college in Kilkenny, of a certain houſe in John's ſtreet, with the adjacent park, for a ſchool-houſe: and the rectories and tythes of Donoghmore, Kells, Wollengrange, Jerpoint and Kilmocar, in the county of Kilkenny; and the pariſhes of Bruor and Templemore, and Religmurry in the county of Tipperary. Theſe were given in truſt to Richard Coote, Eſq; and Sir Henry Wemyes, knt. to pay the maſter 140*l.* per annum. The following are the ſtatutes from the original record in the college.

" Statutes, orders and conſtitutions made, appointed and ordained by the right noble James duke, marquis and earl of Ormond, earl of Oſſory and Brecknock, baron of Arklow and Lanthony, lord of the lordſhip and liberties of Tipperary, chancellor of the univerſities of Oxford and Dublin, chief butler of Ireland, lord lieutenant general and general governor of Ireland, lord lieutenant of the counties of Somerſet, the cities of Bath, Briſtol and Wells, one of the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council of his majeſty's kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, ſteward of his majeſty's houſehold, and Weſtminſter, and knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, founder of the grammar ſchool at Kilkenny in the kingdom of Ireland, for the due government, managing and improvement of the ſaid ſchool; March the 18th, in the year of our Lord, 1684.

Imprimis,

Imprimis, it is conſtituted and ordained, that there ſhall be for ever a maſter reſident, who ſhall be at leaſt a maſter of arts here in Ireland, or of one of the univerſities in England: alſo of good life and reputation, well ſkilled in humanity and grammar learning; loyal and orthodox; who ſhall take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, and conform to the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of Ireland, as it is by law now eſtabliſhed; and that Edward Hinton, doctor in divinity, be hereby confirmed in the place and office of maſter of the ſaid ſchool.

II. That the maſter ſhall be nominated and choſen by the duke of Ormond, his grace, patron and governor, and the heirs male of his body that ſhall ſucceſſively be dukes of Ormond, patrons and governors of the ſaid ſchool, within the ſpace of three months next after every vacancy: who by writing under the hand and ſeal of the reſpective governor, being recommended to the viſitors, and by them examined and approved, as able and ſufficient both for religion, learning and manners; upon certificate of ſuch examination and approbation of the viſitors to the governor ſhown, the ſaid perſon ſo approved, ſhall by a deed under the hand and ſeal of the governor be ſettled and confirmed as maſter of the ſaid ſchool. But if the governor ſhall neglect to nominate according to the time prefixed, or ſhall chuſe ſuch as are not qualified ſuitably to theſe ſtatutes, that then it ſhall be lawful for the viſitors, after notice firſt given to the governor, and no redreſs within three months after ſuch notice, to elect and preſent pro illa vice, any

other perſon, whom in their conſciences, they ſhall judge to be well qualified for the place. And alſo that upon failure of iſſue male of the body of the ſaid James duke of Ormond, the provoſt, fellows and ſcholars of Trinity college Dublin, and their ſucceſſors ſhall from thenceforth for ever afterwards be patrons and governors of the ſaid ſchool.

III. That the maſter ſhall conſtantly inhabit and reſide at the houſe belonging to the ſaid ſchool, and in perſon attend the duties of his place: which are to inſtruct the ſcholars in religion, virtue and learning: in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages; as alſo in oratory and poetry; according to the beſt method which he and the viſitors ſhall judge moſt effectual to promote knowledge and learning: and that being in health he ſhall never be abſent for above thirty ſchool days in one whole year, which ſhall begin on the 25th of March; nor above a fortnight at any one time, unleſs upon emergencies the viſitors ſhall give him leave, being firſt ſatisfied, that his place ſhall be well and ſufficiently diſcharged in his abſence.

IV. That there ſhall always be an uſher belonging to the ſaid ſchool, to be nominated, choſen and removed by the maſter: who ſhall have his diet, lodging and maintenance in the ſchool-houſe, at his allowance. A ſingle man well-ſkilled in grammar learning, of good credit for parts and manners, a batchelor of arts at the leaſt in one of the univerſities of England or Ireland: and he ſhall conſtantly attend and aſſiſt in the duties of the ſchool, in ſuch manner and method, as the maſter ſhall appoint.

V. That

V. That neither maſter nor uſher ſhall take upon them any other charge, office or employment, which the viſitors ſhall judge inconſiſtent with, or prejudicial to the due managing and improvement of the ſaid ſchool: but ſhall conſtantly attend and diſcharge their reſpective duties, and never be both of them out of the ſchool at ſchool times.

VI. That the ſcholars to be admitted into the ſaid ſchool ſhall be plainly and decently habited, and ſuch as ſhall have firſt read their accidence, and are fit to enter upon grammar learning; and ſhall ſubmit to the order, method and correction of the ſaid ſchool.

VII. That the children of all ſuch as are attending in the ſervice of the duke of Ormond, ſhall at all times be admitted to the privileges and benefits of ſaid ſchool gratis.

VIII. That if any well-diſpoſed perſons ſhall out of charity pay for the tabling of ſuch ingenious and orderly lads, as ſhall by the viſitors be recommended to the maſter, as objects of charity, he ſhall admit, and as they continue modeſt and diligent, teach them gratis.

IX. That if his grace, the duke, or other pious benefactors ſhall hereafter make any grants or allowances for the maintenance of any number of ſcholars, they ſhall be taught and entered afterwards in Trinity college, Dublin, if they prove fit. The maſter ſhall then be expreſsly obliged to teach thoſe under the name of Ormond ſcholars, according to his beſt ſkill and induſtry, gratis.

X. That it ſhall be lawful for the maſter to demand and receive of all other ſcholars according

to the rates and uſages of the moſt remarkable ſchools in Dublin, for boarding and ſchooling; thoſe children excepted, whoſe parents are, or at the time of their birth were inhabitants of the city of Kilkenny, or in the liberties thereof; who ſhall pay but half price.

XI. That if the maſter knows any of the ſcholars to be under any infectious or offenſive diſeaſe or diſtemper: or that any infectious diſeaſe be in the houſe where they table, he ſhall, for ſecurity of the reſt, diſcharge ſuch from ſchool till the danger be over.

XII. That every ſtubborn and refractory lad, who ſhall refuſe to ſubmit to the orders and correction of the ſaid ſchool, ſhall by the maſter be forthwith diſmiſſed from the ſaid ſchool, not to be re-admitted without due ſubmiſſion to exemplary puniſhment: and upon his ſecond offence of the ſame kind, to be diſcharged and expelled for ever. And in this number are reckoned ſuch as ſhall offer to ſhut out the maſter or uſher: but the maſter ſhall give them leave to break up eight days before Chriſtmas, and three days before Eaſter and Whitſuntide.

XIII. That the maſter ſhall make diligent inquiry after ſuch as ſhall break, cut, deface or any way abuſe the deſks, forms, walls and windows of the ſchool; or any parts of the houſe, or trees in the meadow, and ſhall always inflict open and exemplary puniſhment on all ſuch offenders.

XIV. That from the beginning of March to the middle of September, the ſcholars ſhall be and continue in ſchool from ſix of the clock in the morning till

till eleven: and all the reſt of the year from ſeven, or as ſoon as the gates of the city are open: and in the afternoon from one to five: the afternoons of thurſdays and ſaturdays excepted, which ſhall be always allowed for recreation: and that the maſter ſhall grant no play-days, except to ſuch as ſhall pay down ten ſhillings into the maſter's hands, to be by him immediately diſpoſed of to the moſt indigent and deſerving lads of his ſchool.

XV. That the maſter ſhall take ſpecial care of the ſcholars of his own family, to inſtruct them by his good example at all times, as well as by occaſional directions: and ſhall have the prayers of the church of England and Ireland read to them both morning and evening in ſome convenient place of the houſe: and in the ſchool, the prayers ſeen and approved by the lord biſhop of Oſſory, ſhall conſtantly and duly be uſed in the ſame manner and form, as they are at the date of theſe preſents.

XVI. That from the beginning of March to the middle of September, all the ſcholars ſhall be in the ſchool upon ſundays, by eight in the morning, to be inſtructed in the church catechiſm; and afterwards ſhall attend the maſter and uſher to the church, in comely and decent manner. And from the middle of September to March, they ſhall ſtay at ſchool until half an hour paſt eleven upon ſaturdays, that they may be taught the ſame catechiſm.

XVII. That Edward Hinton, maſter of the ſaid ſchool, and the maſter for the time being, ſhall inhabit, poſſeſs and enjoy to his own proper uſe and

and emolument, the ſchool-houſe, with the court, outhouſes and gardens thereunto belonging; as alſo the meadow adjoining, commonly called the pigeon-houſe meadow: provided the ſcholars be allowed at leiſure times to take their recreation therein; and that the trees in the ſaid meadow, be carefully preſerved and improved.

XVIII. That the maſter ſhall provide a large regiſter, wherein the names, qualities and ages of all ſuch children as ſhall, from time to time, be admitted into the ſaid ſchool, ſhall be regiſtered and entered: as alſo the time of their departure; what claſs they were in, and to what place or employment they go. Likewiſe a catalogue of all ſuch goods, ſtandards and utenſils, as do or ſhall belong to the ſaid ſchool-houſe, out-houſes, garden and meadow.

XIX. That the maſter ſhall receive for his ſalary the ſum of 140*l.* per annum, of good and lawful money of and in England, by even and equal portions; one moiety of it at the 25th of March, and the other September the 29th, or within a fortnight after each of thoſe feaſts; to be paid conſtantly in the ſchool-houſe, without any defalcation, out of tythes ſettled by the ſaid duke for payment thereof: except his grace or his heirs ſhall ſettle ſome particular lands for the payment of the ſaid ſalary, and which ſhall be of a full value to diſcharge it yearly. And upon the maſter's death, or removal, his ſalary pro rata ſhall become due to him to be paid till that very day.

XX. That the maſter ſhall keep and maintain the ſchool-houſe, ſchool and out-offices in conſtant good

good and ſufficient repair: nor ſhall it be lawful to make any alterations therein without the approbation of the viſitors.

XXI. That Thomas, lord biſhop of Oſſory, Narciſſus, lord biſhop of Leighlin and Ferns, and Robert Huntingdon, D. D. provoſt of Trinity college, Dublin, while they live in this kingdom; and the biſhops of Oſſory, Leighlin and Ferns, and the provoſt of the college for the time being, be nominated and appointed viſitors of the ſaid ſchool: and that they, or the majority of them (for it is the greater number of them ſtill that is meant by the viſitors) ſhall yearly at, or upon the laſt thurſday in June or oftener if they ſhall ſee occaſion, publickly viſit ſaid ſchool, between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning: where and when they ſhall firſt cauſe the ſtatutes to be read, audibly and diſtinctly by one of the ſcholars; and afterwards proceed to examine the proficiency of the ſcholars, and inquire after any breach of the ſtatutes, and after the behaviour of the maſter; the ſufficiency and manners of the uſher; the authors that are read; the methods, uſages and cuſtoms of the ſchool; and if they ſhall judge any alterations or amendments requiſite in any of theſe, they ſhall expreſs it to the maſter under their hands and ſeals: who by virtue of theſe ſtatutes is readily to comply with their advice, for the better improvement of the ſaid ſchool. And when there ſhall be foundation ſcholars, they ſhall by the viſitors be choſen, according to their merits for the univerſity.

XXII. That on the ſaid viſitation day after dinner, which the maſter is to provide ſoberly and decently,

decently, and towards it ſhall have freely given him a fat buck yearly, out of his grace's next park: the viſitors then preſent, ſhall take a view of the ſchool-houſe and out-houſes, the garden, meadow and trees therein; and if they find occaſion, ſhall ſpecify in writing all thoſe repairs and amendments, with the manner how, and the time when they judge them expedient to be made. If the maſter ſhall be negligent herein, the viſitors ſhall ſignify the ſame to the governor of the ſaid ſchool, who forthwith ſhall order thoſe things to be done by able workmen, and that they be paid out of the ſalary next due to the maſter.

XXIII. That if it ſhall appear to the viſitors, that the uſher is inſufficient or ſcandalous, and ſo is ſignified to the maſter under their hands and ſeals, if the maſter ſhall refuſe to remove the ſaid uſher, and chuſe another ſtatutably qualified; or if the maſter ſhall neglect ſuch alterations and amendments as the viſitors ſhall have judged fit to be made, either in the manners of himſelf or his uſher, the authors to be read, or the method, cuſtoms or management of the ſaid ſchool: or if the maſter ſhould forbear to diſcharge himſelf or his uſher from ſuch offices or employments, as the viſitors have judged inconſiſtent or prejudicial to the due management of the ſaid ſchool: or ſhall alter their houſe without their conſent; the viſitors ſhall, under their hands and ſeals, admoniſh the maſter a ſecond time of his ſaid neglects: and if for the ſpace of three months after ſuch ſecond admonition the maſter ſhall be convicted, either by notoriety of fact, or the teſtimony of two of the moſt credible witneſſes

witneſſes of ſuch obſtinate neglect, upon information thereof by the viſitors, under their hands and ſeals given to the patron or governor, he ſhall expell and remove the ſaid maſter from all duties and benefits of the ſaid ſchool, ſchool-houſe, &c. and ſhall nominate and chuſe another in his ſtead, according to the qualifications aforeſaid.

XXIV. That if any doubt or objection ſhall happen concerning the true purport, intent and meaning of theſe ſtatutes, or any thing in them contained, ſuch interpretation as the viſitors ſhall agree in, and ſignify under their hands and ſeals, ſhall be binding and deciſive to all parties concerned.

Laſtly, in teſtimony that all and ſingular the above ſtatutes, orders and conſtitutions were ratified, eſtabliſhed and confirmed to commence and be in force from the 25th day of March in the year of our Lord, 1685, the ſaid James, duke of Ormond the founder of the ſaid ſchool, has this preſent 18th of March, in the year of our Lord, 1684, hereto ſet his hand and ſeal at his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin."

But this foundation ſoon went to decay for the reaſons contained in the following account of the college of Kilkenny, extracted from Mr. Harris's (*e*) life of king William.

" King James, after his arrival in Dublin, proſecuted his ſcheme (the eſtabliſhment of popery) to a fuller effect. An inſtance of which may be given in his proceedings in relation to the publick ſchool of Kilkenny, founded and endowed by the piety

(*e*) Pag. 233.

piety of the firſt duke of Ormond; who ſettled there a proteſtant ſchoolmaſter, Dr. Edward Hinton, a learned and conſcientious Engliſhman, who officiated in it with great induſtry and ſucceſs; which I mention with gratitude, becauſe to him I am indebted for my early education.

"As the apprehenſions of Tyrconnel's ſevere government had driven numbers of proteſtants out of the kingdom, ſo Dr. Hinton, among the reſt, fled for ſafety to his native country. King James laid hold of the opportunity to pervert that ſchool from its primitive inſtitution. The grandſon and heir of the founder had early joined king William, and was attainted in the parliament held this year in Dublin, and conſequently the eſtate among others, out of which the revenues of this ſchool iſſued, was declared forfeited. The ſchoolmaſter was gone, and though not mentioned in the act of attainder, yet one ſcratch of the attorney-general's (Nangle) pen ſupplied that defect, and in the charter declared him attainted.

"King James therefore by a charter dated the 21ſt of February, 1689, upon the ruins of this ſchool erected and endowed a royal college: conſiſting of a rector; eight profeſſors and two ſcholars in the name of more: to be called the royal college of St. Canice, Kilkenny, of the foundation of king James.

"It appears by the charter, that William Daton, D. D. and others in conjunction with him, had for ſeveral years, taught ſchool in the city of Kilkenny, with great diligence; for it was the policy of Tyrconnel to erect ſchools of Jeſuits, as was done through

through England, in oppoſition to the proteſtant legal ſchoolmaſters, whom by affronts and ill-uſage, and under the countenance of a cruel adminiſtration, they ſoon drave away. And this was the cauſe of Dr. Hinton's abdication, which king James now laid hold on to erect his royal college: and it was done as the ſaid charter alledges, at the petition of the ſaid Daton and his fellow labourers; of the catholic biſhop of Oſſory, and all the clergy of that dioceſe, as well as of the mayor, aldermen and burgeſſes of the ſaid city. After Dr. Hinton was driven away, Tyrconnel converted the ſchoolhouſe into an hoſpital; and ſo it continued until the new foundation."

This account given by Mr. Harris is very well illuſtrated by Mr. Laffan's valuable papers. One of them contains: "Articles conclus du conſentement unanime des regents des ecoles de Kilkenny, ſous le protection de l'illuſtriſſime et reverendiſſime l'eveſque d'Oſſory;" and ſigned

Edvardus Tonnery, philoſophiæ profeſſor.
Jacobus Cleary, rhetorices profeſſor.
Guilielmus Felan, lit. human. profeſſor.
Fran Barnwall, tertii ordinis profeſſor.
Johannes Meagher, quartæ claſſis profeſſor.

The catholic biſhop of Oſſory, at this time, was doctor James Phelan, who gave the following rules to this college.

"Rules to be obſerved by the profeſſors of my lord biſhop of Oſſory's college, in Kilkenny: given by his lordſhip.

The teachers of colleges are to know, that piety is the chief thing they ought to teach: and all other things

things that are taught are nothing but means to attain that end: and therefore piety is to be taught by word and example on all occaſions in general, and particularly in the following exerciſes.

I. The teachers are to get up half an hour, at leaſt, before the boarders; and ſpend at leaſt half an hour in mental prayer together in the room where the boarders come to vocal prayer; and to remain there until the boarders come, that they may ſee ſo good an example to imitate. This being very eaſy and beneficial no one ought to forego it, or be cold or negligent to appear with the reſt, if he were not very ſick. And to be notably remiſs in this exerciſe is a fault whereof the ordinary is to be informed. When the boarders come, thoſe that have not the breviary to ſay, ought to ſay the prayers with the ſcholars; and give them good example, by often going to confeſſion and communion. The mental prayer may be omitted the play-days, and made an hour later on holydays and ſundays.

II. The teachers are to ſhew all exactneſs and regularity in their exerciſes; going exactly to their ſeveral ſchools at the ſame moment; and alſo preciſely together from ſchool: to be gentle and courteous to the ſcholars; eſpecially when they propoſe any difficulties: but they are to keep always their diſtance; never ſhewing any weakneſs, lightneſs, paſſion, ſcurrility, or any incivility that the ſcholars may take notice of. To affect gravity before them, more than if the teachers were apart: for there they may give themſelves full latitude: but never to make the ſcholars their comrades by familiarity

that

that denotes equality and makes fellows: as laughing, chatting, playing together, and ſuch other familiarities wherein the ſcholars may diſcover any weakneſs in the maſters, or diminiſh their eſteem for them: no man being fitter to teach and perſuade than he who is well poſſeſſed of his auditors eſteem.

III. Thoſe that preſide at the ſcholars ſtudies, are to be careful and exact therein, leſt the ſcholars ſhould loſe their time. If any of the maſters be obliged to abſent himſelf when his turn is to be preſent, he muſt pray ſome other teacher to ſupply his place: for no teacher ought to pretend to be exempt, upon the account of having much to ſtudy, from what is common to all the teachers: whereas there is none but may take that pretext; and if the ſcholars be neglected but one hour a day, it will give them an occaſion of idleneſs, and taking of liberty.

IV. As for the teachers converſation, it ought to be very fraternal and lovely; conſulting and adviſing one another: and though we think fit, that for the equality of the pains and endeavours of the teachers, the profit alſo ought to be equally participated; yet we think it moſt expedient that the younger teachers ſhould be very ſubmiſſive to the elder ones, eſpecially to the Prefect, who repreſents our perſon there in the curate's abſence: for it were very imprudent, that every teacher ſhould be maſter of every thing, and no order or ſubordination obſerved contrary to the repeated cuſtom in all colleges in the world, where there are ſeveral degrees of dignity, or at leaſt, one that rules all the reſt. Neither ought the Prefect to be over imperious

imperious to the teachers, but adviſe fraternally with them, and ſtrive to pleaſe them, as far as reaſon and the common good ſuffer it. To be impartial in any competition or difference that may ariſe among the teachers themſelves, or amongſt them and the ſcholars: and to accommodate without noiſe all thoſe little debates, with prudence and juſtice: ſtriving always publickly to turn the blame on the ſcholars; but blaming with authority, and adviſing privately any of the teachers that may do amiſs.

Neither ought any teacher to take it ill, or pretend, or give out that he will not ſuffer ſuch reprimands upon account of all the teachers being equal for matter of gain: for that is another matter. Nay, it is not to be expected but there may be ſome teachers, who in proceſs of time, though not now, that may deſerve not only to be kept in ſubmiſſion, but alſo to be turned out for litigious humours, cabals, or extravagant ſcandalous ways; which may bring more prejudice to the place, than their preſence can bring profit. And the Prefect's conſcience, as alſo the other members, who tender God's ſervice and the good of the college, are reſponſible before God for ſuch diſorders, if they ſtrive not to hinder them by their own authority, or if need be, by giving us timely notice. So every one ought to be watchful on all occaſions of the ſcholars, ſervants and houſehold affairs, &c. when they ſee any thing amiſs, or that may be reformed, to give notice thereof to him, whoſe charge it is to look after it."

But

But the glorious victory of the Boyne diſperſed thoſe vain conceits and reinſtated every thing.

By the attainder of the duke of Ormond, the 24th of June 1715, the right of preſentation to the ſchool lapſed to the provoſt and fellows of Trinity college, Dublin; and is ſtill veſted in them. The maſters ſince the charter were,

Edward Hinton, D. D. in 1684.

Doctor Andrews. He reſigned in December, 1713.

Edward Lewis, A. M. appointed in 1715.

Thomas Hewetſon, L.L.D. 1743.

Richard Pack, A.M. 1776.

John Elliſon, D.D. 1781.

The following eminent men were educated in this ſchool; as appears from the regiſtry.

1685. Richard Baldwin, provoſt of Trinity college, Dublin.

1687. Richard Coote, afterwards lord baron of Colooney, the duke of Ormond's truſtee for the ſchool.

1699. Thomas Prior, the celebrated patriot.

1700. George Berkeley, the no leſs celebrated and excellent biſhop of Cloyne.

1704. Walter Harris, a learned antiquary.

1704. Michael Cox, archbiſhop of Caſhell.

1709. Earl of Inchiquin.

1743. Lord viſcount de Veſci.

1745. Right hon. John Beresford.

1748. Sir Robert Staples, Bart.

1752. Hugh Carleton, Eſq; ſolicitor general. Beſides a great number of the nobility and gentry. This ſchool has had a ſucceſſion of eminent maſters; has

has produced men of great learning, and is juſtly eſteemed the firſt ſchool for the education of youth in this kingdom.

By a return of the ſchoolmaſter, Mr. Lewis, November the 16th, 1716, the tythes appropriated to the ſchool were ſet and produced as follows:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Pariſhes of Bruor and Templemore ſet to Mr. John Carden for -	76	0	0
Pariſhes of Kells, Donoghmore and Kilmocar, co. Kilkenny, to Mr. Richard Power for - -	72	0	0
Pariſh of Kells to Mr. Patrick Walſh, Mr. William Belcher, Toby Den, James Archdekin, Arthur Izard, Thomas Dyer and William Tucker, for - -	28	0	6
Pariſh of Donoghmore to Toby Purcell, for - -	17	10	0
Pariſh of Kilmocar to Mark Rudkins, for	18	10	0

In Marſh's library, Dublin, was a book of poems, intitled *Sacri Luſus*, by the young gentlemen of the college of Kilkenny: but not now to be found there. In the ſame library were, "Conſtitutions made in a provincial meeting at Kilkenny, A. D. 1614." This MS. alſo is ſtolen from its place.

HOSPITALS.

We are told by Mr. Carte, that the earl of Ormond who died the 22d Nov. 1614, by his laſt will appointed an hoſpital to be built by Sir Nicholas Walſh, in a waſte place near the old tholſel of Kilkenny, to be endowed out of the profits of his farms

farms and the leaſes of ſpiritualties from the crown, veſted by a deed dated the 16th Jan. 1613, to ſaid Walſh and other feoffees; and directed that Walter Butler, or other perſon ſucceeding to the earldom, ſhould procure it to be incorporated by the name of 'The hoſpital of our bleſſed Saviour of Kilkenny,' and that his ſaid nephew ſhould give to ſaid corporation the impropriate rectory of Drominberrain, in the county of Tipperary, being parcel of the diſſolved monaſtery of Kells in the county of Kilkenny, and the impropriation of the rectory of Gronyn, alias Bewly, with the advowſon of the church.

This Walter Butler, as Mr. Lodge in his peerage informs us, was the 11th earl of Ormond, he procured the charter with a licence of mortmain, dated the 16th May, 1631, by the name of The maſter, brethren and ſiſters of our moſt holy Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt. This hoſpital is in Coal Market, and ſupported by the family who firſt founded it.

SHEE's HOSPITAL.

We are obliged to Mr. Laffan's papers for the following account of this hoſpital.

Sir Richard Shee, knt. about 1620, founded and endowed an hoſpital in the city, called Jeſus's hoſpital. Twelve poor perſons, male and female, were ſupported in it, and had each the ſum of 40s. annually paid to them. Sir Richard had provided, that in caſe the allocated revenue was by any means ſtopped, then an equivalent was to be diſburſed from his eſtate.

In 1685, the poor of this hoſpital petitioned Dr. James Phelan, titular biſhop of Oſſory, to inquire into the mal-practices of Mr. Edmund Shee, who aſſumed the maſterſhip of this hoſpital, and whom they repreſented as paying but 7*l.* 12*s.* to the community, detaining and converting the remainder to his own uſe; beſides keeping four of the chambers vacant, and this for ſome years, whereby he defrauded the charity of above 200*l.* They ſtate, that ſo far from the revenue failing, they could get 25*l.* per ann. paid for it, and city-ſecurity. The biſhop wrote to the maſter, warned him of the horrible ſin of cheating the poor, but recommended at the ſame time a kinſwoman of his to a place in the hoſpital. The maſter returned an anſwer, which is here given, and is curious for the reaſoning and particulars it contains.

" Kilkenny, 8th June, 1685.

" Rev. Lord,

" I received yours of this inſtant, and am very ſory that I cannot comply with your lordſhip's requiſt this tyme, as concerning your kinſwoman; for I doe aſſure you the howſe is full, and noe place vaquent: and as for Fra. Theobald Archer, there is noe place from him, but a chamber that belongs to the maſter, where no pintion belongs, and which I have turned to other uſes, which is uſefull to the howſe. And if there beene anny complaynt made of me unto your lordſhip, it is more than I deſerve, for I doe aſſure you, I have payd them all, in generall, though I am not as yet repaid. It is true, there was one of them that dyed lately before her pention was dew, and bequeated

bequeated it to her dougter, and as I humbly conceave, it is neyther contionable nor equitable, that anny boddie, who depends uppon the charitie of pious uſes, ſhout have the power to reſt it to worldly uſes, and this I leave to anny religious order to judge of, that your lordſhip thinks fit; and as for my ſowls ſavetie I prefer it before all the treſieurs in the world, and doe hope I ſhall take as great care towards my ſowle, as any of my predeceſſors ever did. This being all, I reſt your lordſhip's faithfull and obedient ſervant,

EDMOND SHEE."

This hoſpital is in Roſe Inn Street.

There is an hoſpital in St. Canice's church-yard, adjoining the library, for a few poor indigent perſons.

Biſhop Veſey maintained a charity ſchool in the city, for forty poor children, until he found it did not anſwer his wiſhes, as Mr. Harris in his edition of Ware's biſhops informs us.

The charter ſchool without the city is endowed by the corporation of Kilkenny with twenty acres of land, plantation meaſure; together with the rectorial tythes thereof; and a rent charge of thirty pounds for ever. It contains forty boys. Some ſmall donations have been made to it.

SECT. VII.

AUGUSTINIAN ABBEY.

THE oldeſt monaſtic foundation in Kilkenny is the priory, hoſpital or abbey of St. John the evangeliſt;

geliſt, whoſe charter, in the Monaſticon, is dated A. D. 1220. It recites, that William Marſhall the elder, earl of Pembroke, for the ſalvation of his ſoul and thoſe of his predeceſſors and ſucceſſors, gives to God and St. John, a piece of ground at the head of the ſmall bridge of Kilkenny, between the ſmall ſtream of water and the road that leads to Loughmederan. From this ſituation we may conclude, that the monks deſigned to erect their building nearer the bridge than it now is: the place was inſulated by the ſtream before mentioned, as the ground at the back of the King's Arms is at this day, and which ſeems a remnant of this antient aqueduct, as it is called.

The earl grants them the pariſh beyond the bridge to the eaſt, and bordering on the bridge, which was St. Mæls; and the eccleſiaſtical revenue of his land of Dunfert; this is now called Danesfort, but improperly, for the name Donfert or Dunfert, appears in very antient records. He beſtows on them the tenths of his mills, fiſheries, orchards and dovecotes in Kilkenny, and alſo land at the head of the greater bridge, where they formerly began their convent. He gives the rents of his burgage-tenements in the new town, the church of the new town, which muſt be St. Mary's, and that of Hagaman, and the intire benefice of the old town, in tenths, oblations and obventions. Do not theſe words clearly imply a ſtrong doubt of the cathedral not having as yet made any conſiderable progreſs from its foundation, or if it had, that its chapter, revenues and juriſdiction were not ſettled? the grant of totius beneficii veteris villæ admits

admits of no qualification, it is deciſive in its import. Had there been a cathedral in Iriſhtown endowed with antient revenues, he never would have wreſted them from it for his new priory. The words alſo militate ſtrongly againſt the claim of Hugh Rufus, as if he was lord paramount of Iriſhtown, when the contrary is here evident. Biſhop Fitz John appropriated to them the church of Claragh, reſerving an annual penſion of twenty ſhillings to the vicars choral.

In 1645, when the monaſtic orders were every where repairing their houſes, the Auguſtinians, to whom this abbey originally belonged, endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of it; but the Jeſuits interpoſed a claim, and it was confirmed to them by Rinuccini, the nuncio. From a MS. of Mr. Laffan we have this tranſaction authenticated.

" Whereas we the mayor, aldermen and burgeſſes of the city of Kilkenny have of late granted our certificate to the rev. fathers the Jeſuits, confirming unto them, as much as in us, and as law permits, a certain grant or donation paſſed unto them in the year 1645, of the monaſtery of St. John the evangeliſt in this city, by the rev. father Thomas Roth, prior in commendam thereof; and having ſince conſidered the maniſeſt inconveniencies the ſaid city, and the ſeveral tenants deriving under a late leaſe from our predeceſſors are like to lie under, have for that reaſon entered into a further ſcrutiny of the ſaid Jeſuits' title, and we find, that they can produce neither grant, leaſe or any thing like from us or our predeceſſors of the ſaid monaſtery, either in 1641, or ſince, but the ſaid grant

grant from the ſaid father Roth, confirmed by the pope's nuncio, then reſiding in this city.

" We therefore conſidering the invalidity of the ſaid grant, ſo as to diveſt us of our right, and the obligation on us to maintain the leaſe made by our predeceſſors, do hereby revoke and annul the ſaid certificate, until the ſaid Jeſuits do produce a legal title from us or our predeceſſors: on ſight whereof we will freely and unanimouſly join in a further grant thereof to them, ſtill reſerving the chapel and garden of the poor Capuchins, which they have improved on the meaneſt and craggieſt ſpot about this city, to our admiration and edification. Beſides which ſpot, we humbly conceive, that there are ſufficient room and apartments for the Jeſuits.

In witneſs that this is our laſt reſolution and pleaſure, we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names this 18th day of March, 1689."

From this document we find, that the Jeſuits had prevailed on Roth to ſurrender the abbey to them: that the city, though they had made leaſes of it, yet diveſted themſelves of their right, and that in 1645, the nuncio confirmed theſe illegal proceedings. On his return to Italy, he wrote to the general of the Jeſuits, and moſt unclerically mentions this act of injuſtice done through predilection of the order.

" (*a*) Si contenti voſtra paternità reverendiſſima, che jo ſi aſſecuri di non aver mai veduto, e forſe non letto una ſimile novità, la quale accreſe la ſua forſa dal ſaperſi per tutto il regno, che jo nel medeſimo

(*a*) Hibern. Dominic. ſupra. App. 915.

W.B. del.t J.Duff sculp.t

medeſimo punto per ſervire alla compagnia avevo terminato l'acquiſto della chieſa abbaziale di S. Giovanni di Kilkennia per quei padri, non oſtanti tutte le oppoſizioni dei canonici regolari."—(*b*) None need wonder, ſays Walſh, to ſee among thoſe approvers of the nuncio, the whole college, or profeſſed houſe of the Jeſuits then at Kilkenny. The members of this ſociety reſident in the city, were

(*c*) Henry Plunket, William St. Leger,
Robert Bath, William Dillon,
Chriſtopher Maurice, John Uſher.

Whereas the Auguſtinians in the kingdom, according to this author, did not exceed ſixty or eighty: the Jeſuits were more numerous; being buſy, enterprizing and of great influence.

In 1432, (*d*) John Fleming, biſhop of Leighlin, was canon of St. John's, and in 1500, (*e*) James Shortal was prior of it. The annals of it are frequently mentioned, and were in the Chandois (*f*) collection. The codex Kilkennienſis ſo frequently cited by Colgan, and reprobated by Bollandus, was the production of this monaſtery.

Great part of this abbey was demoliſhed to make room for a foot barrack; however its ruins declare its former ſplendour. For about fifty four feet of the ſouth ſide of the choir it ſeems to be almoſt one window. The eaſtern window is about ſixteen feet wide and forty high; it is divided by delicate ſtone mullions. The following monumental inſcriptions ſtill remain amid the ruins.

D. Michael

(*b*) Supra. Pref. pag. 45. (*c*) Walſh, pag. 2.
(*d*) Ware's Biſhops, pag. 495. (*e*) Ware, ſupra, pag. 415.
(*f*) Nicolſon's Iriſh Hiſt. Library, pag. 36. 8vo.

D. Michael Cowley

Irenarcha et juriſconſultus, &c. et uxor ejus D. Honoria Roth, hic requieſcunt in æternam, ut ſperamus, hinc requiem transferendi ubi quod corruptibile eſt incorruptionem induet; uterque mortis ſubdidit legi; uterque mortuus commune ſolvit debitum naturæ. Hæc vivere orbi deſiit anno . . . die menſis . . . . cœlo ille cæpit vivere anno . . . . .

Epitaphium

Hic virtute animi et generoſo ſtemmate clarus,
Couleum triſtis quæ capit urna tegit.
Fallor, cœleſtes, melior pars incolit arces,
Hoc tantum cineres flebile marmor habet.
Hic potuit juris diſcordes ſolvere nodos,
Sed nequiit duræ ſolvere jura necis.
O homo vive Deo cœloque operare, ſepultus,
Sola manet virtus, cætera mortis erunt.
Quod alii, lector, tibi mortuo obſequium,
Rependent nobis, impende æternam
Requiem precare et vale.

F. Johannes Purcell

Abb. Ecc. . . . . qui obiit . . . . .

He lies recumbent at full length, in the habit of a regular canon, with a mitre on his head; the whole is of black marble.

Cloſe by is another figure, one of the ſame family as the word Purcell ſhews; he is in armour; a belt comes over his ſhoulder, from which depends a ſword. The frame of this monument is ornamented with baſſo relievos of Chriſt and his apoſtles, each with their different emblems.

Hic

Hic jacet
Edvardus Langton, hujus civitatis major et burgenſis, et Superior villæ Kilkenniæ; et Belena Archer, ejus uxor, qui obierunt 5° die Maii, 1571, et Richardus Langton.

Memento
Homo quod puſio es, et in puſionem reverteris. Neale Cullen, citizen of Kilkenny, built this monument for his dearly beloved wife Roſe Langton, deceaſed, the 4th of October 1646, his father John Cullen, his mother Ellen Seix, himſelf and family.

My virtue death ſeems to overſway
My virtue's fruit by deed will ne'ere decay.

There are a few other monuments here, but all defaced and illegible.

DOMINICAN ABBEY,

Otherwiſe called the Black abbey, from the colour of the garments worn by the monks of this order, was founded in Iriſhtown, by William earl Marſhal the younger, about 1225, and dedicated to the bleſſed Trinity. Biſhop Hugh a Dominican, and who died in 1259, made many donations to the monaſtery; among others, he beſtowed on it St. Canice's well and an aqueduct, and releaſed a chief rent ariſing from two meſſuages in Frier-ſtreet; and was interred in the high church near the altar.

Biſhop Cantwell was alſo of this order; and on his promotion he ſtill wore the habit, agreeable to the decree

decree of the 8th Conſtantinopolitan (*g*) council, and was buried in this abbey.

The ſite of this monaſtery was granted at the reformation to the corporation of the city. Part of the building was made a ſhire-houſe, as is mentioned in the charter of the elder James. Some chapters of the order were held here in 1643, when the whole was repaired. It had a (*h*) houſe for novices, ſituated to the north-weſt, on the river Nore, about two miles above the city, and called now Thornback.

The windows and arches are rather ſuperiour to thoſe of St. John's; the various mouldings that adorn them, are beautiful ſpecimens of the Gothic taſte, and for elegance and lightneſs nothing can exceed its two towers.

It muſt occur to every one, that this is a very indifferent account of this foundation. Dr. Burke, a learned Dominican, and titular biſhop of Oſſory, and for many years reſident in Kilkenny, and who was particularly intereſted in the inquiry, declares, that except the few foregoing notices, (*i*) he could procure nothing more from printed books, MSS. monuments, or the information of the members, after the utmoſt diligence and application. This ingenuous confeſſion at once detects the impoſitions of writers, who have obtruded on the world, as memorials carried out of Ireland in times of confuſion, the lives of ſaints, and other hiſtorical collections;

(*g*) Præterea monachi qui vita et doctrina ut epiſcopi creentur meruerint, non mutent habitus veſtiſque rationem ob novam dignitatem. Caranzæ Summ. Concil. pag. 767.

(*h*) Hibern. Dominic. pag. 206.

(*i*) Supra, pag. 206.

W.B. del.

J. Duff Sculp.

EAST WINDOW of the DOMINICAN ABBEY, KILKENNY.

collections; when, in reality, they are the genuine manufacture of the ſeminary clergy of Douay, Ghent, Lovain and other places; and if we may form an opinion of them from Bollandus, they are of no greater eſtimation than the dreams of Annius of Viterbo, and ſimilar impoſtors.

The Dominicans in 1437, obtained two parts of the tythes of (*k*) Mothil, as appears by the record.

FRANCISCAN ABBEY.

We have every reaſon to place the foundation of this abbey, previous to the year 1230. "For in the chore of the friers-preachers, ſays Stanihurſt, William Marſhal, earl of Pembroke, was buried, who departed this life in the yere 1231. Richard, brother to William, to whom the inheritance deſcended, within three yeres after deceaſed at Kilkennie, beinge wounded to death in a field in the heath of Kildare, in the year 1234, the twelfe of April, and was intoomed with his brother, according to the old epitaph heere mentioned:—

'Hic comes eſt poſitus, Ricardus vulnere foſſus:
Cujus ſub foſſa Kilkenia continet oſſa."

Hanmer (*k*) ſays, he was killed by the O Connors, and buried in the Black abbey. He adds, that his tomb with theſe of eighteen knights that came over at the conqueſt, were at the ſuppreſſion of the monaſtery, defaced, and by the inhabitants turned to their private uſes, making ſwine-troughs of ſome; ſo that there remained but one, on which the picture of a knight was pourtrayed, bearing a ſhield about his neck, with the Cantwell's arms inſculpted: this

(*k*) Appendix IX.

this the people call *Ryddir in Curry* (*l*), or the Knight on the Curragh.

John Clynn of this convent, writes

Poſt incarnatum lapſis de virgine natum
Annis millenis tribus triginta ducentis,
In primo menſis Aprilis, Kildarienſis
Pugna die ſabbati fuit in triſtitia facti,
Acciderant ſtallo pugnæ comiti mariſcallo.

Speed, ſpeaking of this tranſaction, informs us, "his body was buried in Kilkenny, (which pleaſantly ſituated towne our ſoveraigne king James erected into a city) where himſelf in his life had appointed. Some ſmall tokens of this great name are yet (1611) remaining. For in the eaſt window of the abbey church of St. John the Baptiſt, and in the abbey of St. Dominick, the antient armories of Mareſhal, lord of Kilkenny, are yet extant. Luke Wadding ſhews (*m*), that Matt. Paris and Du Cheſne (*n*) agree in making him to have been interred in the Franciſcan abbey.

This monaſtery ſoon grew ſo conſiderable, that in the year 1267, a provincial chapter was held there, as Clynn informs us. In 1321 the great altar was conſecrated; it was a marble table of prodigious length and breadth.

In 1331, Nicholas Welifed, biſhop of Waterford, conſecrated the new cemetery without the church, on a friday, being the feaſt of St. Cecilia.

In

(*l*) Properly, Ridire in Currach, eques in Plano, meaning earl Richard who was ſlain on the curragh, or plain.

(*m*) Annales Minorum, ad ann. 1234, pag. 470, 471.

(*n*) Pag. 403. Du Cheſne Hiſt. d'Anglet. pag. 543.

In 1347, on the firſt ſunday in Advent, a fraternity or gild was inſtituted for building a belfry and repairing the church. In the ſame year on Palm ſunday, being the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, Iſabella Palmer was buried in this convent. She had rebuilt the forepart of the choir. Thus far Clynn.

The monaſtery and its offices were of great extent, reaching from the ſtreet and city walls to the river. The windows and towers are inferiour to none. Part is made a horſe barrack. Near the margin of the river and within the precincts of the abbey is a ſpring of pure limpid water, called St. Francis' well, and was heretofore famous for miraculous cures; it is incloſed, and ſtill preſerves ſome degree of credit. About a mile from the town was a grange belonging to the fathers: in Wadding's time it was in the poſſeſſion of John, ſon of Sir Richard Shee. A century before, on the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes, the corporation purchaſed from the crown this abbey and its demeſnes.

ST. MARY's CHURCH.

In the charter to St. John's priory, this church ſeems to be deſcribed by The church in the new town. We have ſeen under the year 1328, that William Utlaw was ſentenced to cover its roof with lead. And in Clynn's annals is the following notice. "A. D. 1343. A new belfry was erected for the church of St. Mary, Kilkenny." The following clauſe in queen Elizabeth's charter to the city, relates to the proviſion of wax lights for the church and the image of the Virgin Mary.

"Item,

" Item, quia diverſa tenementa in illa villa de Kilkenny ab antiquo tempore onerentur, tam illuminare coram imagine virginis glorioſæ Mariæ villæ prædictæ, quam ad emendandam eccleſiam prædictam; procuratores ſeu clientes ad redditus illos, et jura levanda ſi negligentes fuerint, quod ſervientes vel burgenſes villæ namiare poſſint pro redditus et jura prædicta, ſine calumpnia."

The old church was much larger than the preſent one, which is contracted on the antient ſite. It is in the form of a croſs, neat and elegant; with a good organ. In 1689, Marcus (o) Stafford, clerk, and one of the vicars choral of Chriſt church Dublin, made oath before a magiſtrate, that he was credibly informed, and did, from a knowledge of the fact for eighteen years before, believe, that the curacy of St. Mary's was in the preſentation of the mayor and citizens of Kilkenny. The motives for this affadavit we are not told, or the ſteps taken in conſequence. At preſent the church is in the patronage of the biſhop.

The following are the moſt remarkable monuments.

Spiculum mortis.

Ortus ad interitum erectis progreſſibus, urget
Mortaleſque rapit mortis vis neſcia vinci,
Neſcia conſilio, voto, vel voce moveri.
Imperii, eloquii, rationis, acuminis, artis
Et ſophiæ tranſcendit opem, erectoque lacerto
Spicula contorquet gravis inclementia lethi.
Cujus ad imperium quicquid ſpirabile mundi
Machina complexu fovet, expirare neceſſe eſt.

Speculum

(o) Apud Laffan's MSS.

Speculum mortalium.

Siſte gradum, qui tranſgrederis, cordate viator;
Inque ſepulchrali hoc ſpeculo circumſpice clari
Ora viri, genio ingenioque, et moribus orbi
Brittonico lumen; cujus facundia vocis
Et facundia gravi ſenſu, cenſuque facultas:
Non contemnenda pietas, doctrina favorque:
Magnus tum mentiſque vigor, dum vita vigeret,
Nunc tenet orbatum cultu brevi urna cadaver.

Johannes Naſhus

Humanæ fragilitatis conſcius, chariſſimæ uxori, Eleonoræ Rothæ et liberis, adhuc vivens poſuit. A. X. 1617. Quibus ut æternam requiem preceris, tum finis memor enixe rogat. Obiit honeſtus hic et cordatus civis, 31 die Maii menſis, ſalutis humanæ. A. 1643.

Jacobus Archdeacon

Mercator, et hujus urbis Kilkennienſis burgenſis, hoc ſibi et uxori Catharinæ Woodloke, et poſteris ſuis vivus monumentum poſuit. Fato ceſſit ille .... obiit hæc .... die menſis .....

Epitaphium.

Hæc mihi, qua condar, feralis conditur urna;
Et tibi quem parili ſorte ſepulchra manent.
Quisquis es, extinctos vermis prædabitur artus;
Et quæ me primum te quoque fata prement.
Ut recte vivas mortis memor eſto; ſepultus
Æternum ut poſſis vivere: diſce mori. 1636.

Hic jacet

Johannes Rothus, Petri filius, civis prætorius civitatis Kilkeniæ, qui ſacellum hoc cum monumento ſepulchrali

ſepulchrali pro ſe, uxore liberiſque ac poſteris ſuis fieri fecit, anno ſalutis 1612. Ipſe vero non tam obiit quam abiit, 31 die, menſis Januarii, A. D. 1620. Necnon Roſa Archera chariſſima ejus conjux, quæ viceſſit magis quam deceſſit, die menſis 8°. anno Dom. 16 . . . .

Quorum animabus propitietur Deus.

✠

Symbolum ſalutis.

Ortus quæque ſuos redolent animantia primos.
Et redit in cinerem quod fuit ante cinis.
Mens ſuperas nunc avet opes . . . imas
Nempe ſui memorem ſtructilis urna facit.
Aſt rediviva olim quando urna refuderit oſſa
Juncta animis, Deus O faxit, ut aſtra petant.

ST. MÆL OR MAULA.

The church dedicated to this ſaint is of great antiquity, and pointed out in St. John's charter, as lying on the eaſt ſide of the river. It is a ſufficient apology for introducing legendary narrations in accounts of antient foundations to ſay, that frequently none others are to be found; this is the caſe at preſent.

The ſex of this ſaint is doubtful: if it was dedicated to St. Mæl, we are (*p*) told he was nephew and diſciple of St. Patrick, and by him placed over the ſee of Ardagh in 456, where he preſided for more than thirty years and died the 5th of February, 487. The profeſſed writers of the lives of ſaints ſtretch the belief of the credulous very far,

(*p*) Ware's Biſhops.

far, when they relate with ſuch minute exactneſs unauthenticated events. The following tale deſerves as little credit.

" (q) About the ſame time that St. Kennie's church was built, a church was erected over againſt the town, upon the eaſt ſide of the Nore, in honour of St. Maula, the mother of St. Kenny, whoſe memory is continued in Kilkenny by her plague that fell upon them thus: There was a plague in the towne, and ſuch as died thereof, being bound with wythes upon the beere, were buried in St. Maula's church-yard; after that the infection ceaſed, women and maids went thither to dance, and inſtead of napkins and handkerchiefs to keep them together in their round, it is ſaid, they took thoſe wythes to ſerve their purpoſe.

" It is generally conceived that Maula was angry for profaning her church-yard, and with the wythes infected the dancers ſo, that ſhortly after man, woman and child died in Kilkenny."—We here ſee a natural effect ſuperſtitiouſly and ignorantly aſcribed to another cauſe.

EMINENT MEN.

Kilkenny hath produced ſome eminent men, natives of it.

William de Kilkenny

Was archdeacon (r) of Coventry and the king's chancellor. He was elected by the convent of Ely, biſhop of that ſee, in 1254. See more in Bentham's antiquities of that church.

(q) Hanmer's chronicle.
(r) M. Paris, pag. 769. Matt. Weſtm.

Simon de Kilkenny

Was canon (*s*) of Kildare, and appointed to that ſee in 1258.

William of Kilkenny,

But called (*t*) William of Jerpoint, for being a monk of the Ciſtertian abbey there, was made biſhop of Cork in 1266.

. . . . . Cleere,

I ſuppoſe James Cleere before mentioned, proceeded maſter of arts in Oxford, was after made apoſtolic prothonotary and dean of St. Canice.

Stanihurſt ſupplies us with the following liſt:

Robert Joiſe, a good humaniſt. There hath been a Roth, vicar of St. John's, prettily learned.

Elias Sheth or Shea, ſometimes ſcholar of Oxford, a gentleman of paſſing good wit, a pleaſing conceited companion, full of mirth without gall. He wrote in Engliſh divers ſonnets.

Michael Sheth, was maſter of arts.

John Thonery,

Batchelor of divinity, was, in 1553, advanced by queen Mary to the ſee of Oſſory. He impoveriſhed his church by alienating to Sir Richard Shee the lordſhips of Biſhops-court and Freinſton.

William Daniel

Was one of the three firſt ſcholars of Trinity college, Dublin, under queen Elizabeth's charter. He was conſecrated archbiſhop of Tuam in 1609, over which he preſided 19 years; he tranſlated the common prayer and new teſtament into Iriſh.

Sebaſtian

(*s*) Ware's Biſhops, pag. 385. (*t*) Ware ſupra, pag. 558.

Sebaſtian Shortall,

Otherwiſe called Stephen Shortall, became a Ciſtertian monk in the monaſtery of Nucale in Gallicia, in Spain: he was a man of ſome learning, and died titular abbot of Bective in the county of Meath in 1639.

Earl of Oſſory.

An account of him may be ſeen in the Biographia Britannica.

David Roth

Was titular biſhop of Oſſory; a man of great erudition, and well ſkilled in our national antiquities, as primate Uſher teſtifies in his primordia Ecc. Britann.

William Salenger,

Or St. Leger, entered the ſociety of Jeſuits at Tournay in 1621. We find him in Kilkenny during the rebellion, but he was not ſuperiour of that order, as (*u*) Harris aſſerts. Sotwel ſays he was rector collegii Kilkenniæ, this was, the ſchool in the church-yard. On the ſettlement of the kingdom he retired to Spain and was made principal of the Iriſh college at Compoſtella, where he died in 1665.

Richard Archdekin

Was of the ſame order, and entered the ſociety at Mechlin, in 1642. He taught philoſophy and divinity at Louvain, and died at Antwerp in 1690.

The writer cannot conclude this work without expreſſing his warmeſt acknowledgements to the rev. Mr. Archdall for his friendly aid in the courſe of it; a perfect knowledge of the antiquities of

(*u*) Writers, pag. 144.

this country, joined to a liberality of ſentiment, which ever diſtinguiſhes the poliſhed ſcholar, enabled him to make many valuable communications.

To Mr. James Laffan of Kilkenny he is indebted for the peruſal of a great number of curious MSS. without which the foregoing pages had been very defective.

APPENDIX;

APPENDIX

OF ORIGINAL RECORDS.

No. I. Page 355.

Prioratus ſive hoſpital. Sti. Johannis evang. de Kilkenn. fundat. circa ann. 1220.

WILL. Mareſchallus, comes Pembrochiæ, &c. conceſſi B. Johanni evang. locum quendam ad caput parvi pontis de Kilken. ſc. inter ductum minoris aquæ et viam quæ ducit ad Loghmadheran ab horreis meis, et 16 acras de terra libera ex eadem parte aquæ illius, cum pertinentiis, ad conſtruendum ibidem domum religionis, in honorem Dei et Sti. Johannis, et ad ſuſtentationem pauperum et indigentium. Conceſſi etiam, totam parochiam ultra pontem de Kilkenn. verſus orientem et adjacentem eidem ponto cum pertinentiis, abſque omni retinemento. Etiam beneficium eccleſiaſticum totius terræ meæ de Donfert, quantum ſc. inde ad patronum pertinet; et beneficium eccleſiaſticum totius terræ me de Loghmadheran eodem modo cum omnibus pertinentiis, tam in decimis, quam oblationibus et obventionibus. Et omnes decimas molendinorum, piſcariarum, pomariorum, et columbariorum meorum de Kilkenn.

Volo etiam et concedo, quod prædicti fratres deſerviant capellâ caſtri mei de Kilkenn. et inde habeant

habeant omnes obventiones et oblationes ſi ego abſens fuero vel hæredes mei: ſin autem, tunc dominici capellani mei oblationes ex ea provenientes percipient.

Conceſſi etiam locum quendam ad caput magni pontis, ubi primitus domus eorum inchoata fuit, reddendo de eodem loco mihi et hæredibus meis annuatim tres ſolidos pro omnibus ſervitiis. Et quod habeant et poſſideant pacificè omnes redditus burgagiorum quæ eis in villa de Kilkenn. data fuerunt et danda, ſalvo ſervitio meo, et ſalvis omnibus quæ juris mei ſunt. Præterea conceſſi eccleſiam de Haghamon et eccleſiam de Nova villa, et totum beneficium Veteris villæ cum omnibus pertinentiis ad eaſdem eccleſias ſpectantibus. Præterea, decimas molendinorum meorum et fenorum meorum in parochiis prædictarum eccleſiarum.

Inſuper, triginta marcas argenti de decima redditus mei aſſiſi in Hibernia percipiendas in perpetuum ad ſcaccarium meum de Kilkennia. Et præter hæc, unam carrucatam terræ cum pertinentiis, viz. illam quam Thomas Drake conſuevit tenere juxta Kilkenniam, quietam ab omnibus ſervitiis, &c.

Monaſticon Anglic. vol. 2. pag. 1042.

No. II. Page 355.

Rex ſuperiori et præpoſito et communitati villæ de Kilkenny, ſalutem. Monſtravit nobis venerabilis pater, Alexander epiſcopus Oſſorienſis, ut cum ipſe

ipſe omnia temporalia ſua teneat de nobis in capite, ipſeque quoddam mercatum in villa ſua del Iriſhton juxta Kilkeniam, quæ eſt parcella dictorum temporalium, viz. die Mercurii ſingulis ſeptimanis, obtineat. Et licet idem epiſcopus et prædeceſſores ſui nuper epiſcopi loci prædicti, mercatum ſuum prædictum, ut prædictum eſt, et libertatem ſuam infra Croceam epiſcopatûs prædicti, libere et abſque cuſtumis aliquibus pro muragio dictæ villæ de Kilkennia, de rebus venalibus ad dictum mercatum, vel infra libertatem prædictam venientibus, abſque aſſenſu et voluntate prædicti epiſcopi et prædeceſſorum ſuorum ſolvendis a tempore fundationis eccleſiæ ipſius epiſcopi Sti. Canici de Kilkennia habere conſueverunt. Vos tamen quaſdam literas noſtras patentes ad certas cuſtumas pro muragio dictæ villæ de Kilkennia, de rebus venalibus ad eandem villam de Kilkennia et infra Croceam prædictam venientibus, percipiendas abſque conſenſu ſive notitia dicti epiſcopi impetraſtis, et cuſtumas hujusmodi de rebus venalibus ad dictum mercatum et infra libertatem ipſius epiſcopi prædictam venientibus prætextu dictarum literarum noſtrarum minus juſte percepiſtis, et indies percipere non deſiſtis, in ipſius epiſcopi ac eccleſiæ ſuæ prædictæ grave præjudicium, dictique mercati ac libertatis ſuæ prædictæ perturbationem et retractionem manifeſtas, ut dicitur; ſuper quo nobis ſupplicavit ſibi remedium adhibere; et quia per quendam inquiſitionem coram fratre Willielmo Tany, priore hoſpitalis Sti. Johannis Jeruſalem in Hibernia, cancellario noſtro, ibidem captam, et in cancellarium noſtram Hiberniæ

berniæ remanentem eſt compertum, quod dicta villa del Iriſhton eſt parcella dictorum temporalium: et quod idem epiſcopus et prædeceſſores ſui prædicti mercatum prædictum una cum libertate prædicta in forma prædicta habere conſueverunt. Nolentes proinde, quod præfato epiſcopo in ea parte prætextu dictarum literarum noſtrarum aliqualitur præjudicetur, vobis et cuilibet veſtrum mandamus, quod prætextu dictarum noſtrarum literarum de dicta villa del Iriſhton, mercatu aut libertate prædictis, vel de cuſtumis aliquibus pro muragio dictæ villæ de Kilkennia de rebus venalibus addictum mercatum, vel infra libertatem prædictam venientibus, abſque aſſenſu et voluntate ipſius epiſcopi de cetero capiendis. Vos autem aliquem veſtrum nullatenus intromittatis ſub periculo incumbente.

Teſte Jacobo de Botiller, comite de Ormond juſticiario noſtro apud Dublin 28 die Januarii, anno regni noſtri 51.

Rot. cancell. Hiber. 51. Edw. III. 1376, No. 76 in dorſo.

No. III. Page 372.

Præpoſitus, ballivi et probi homines villæ de Kilkennia habent pavagium ad villam ſuam paviendam per ſeptem annos ſub data, apud Dublin, 25 die Novembris, anno 8 Edw. III. 1334.

Ex rotul. turr. Berningh. pat. 8 E. III. p. 1. No. 106.

No.

No. IV. Page 375.

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. ſalutem. Cum communitas comitatûs noſtri de Kilkennia nobis in ſubſidium guerræ noſtræ ſuper Hibernicos partium Lageniæ hoſtes noſtros, Dei adjutorio, expugnandos, ſua ſpontanea voluntate nobis conceſſerint duodecim homines ad arma, cum tot equis coopertis, quolibet eorum capiente per diem duodecim denarios; et ſexaginta hobelarios, quolibet eorum capiente per diem, quatuor denarios; et ducentes pedites, quolibet eorum capiente per diem tres obolos, vadiis ipſius communitatis ſuſtineri per quoddam certum tempus in comitiva juſticiarii noſtri Hiberniæ, dicta guerra durante, moraturos, prout inter ipſos juſticiarium et communitatum erat concordatum. Aſſignavimus dilectos nobis Willielmum Lye et Thomam Moygne in cantredas de Oſgellan et Ognentoy: Ricardum Foreſtal et Walterum Sillame in cantreda de Sylerchir: Adamum Tonibrige, Gilbertum Synniche et Johannem Herberd in cantredis de Odoch et Galmoy, ad dictum ſubſidium conjunctim et diviſim aſſidendum, levandum et colligendum; et dilecto conſanguineo noſtro Jacobo de Botiller, comiti de Ormond, et hominibus quos idem comes retineat in guerra prædicta (dum tamen ad numerum hominum ad arma, hobelariorum et peditum prædictorum attingat eoſdem hoſtes guerrando) per indenturam inter eos, modo debito conficiendam, liberandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod iiſdem Willielmo, Thomæ, Ricardo, Waltero, Adæ, Gilberto et Johanni, tanquam aſſeſſoribus et

et collectoribus ſubſidii prædicti, pareatis et intendatis. Damus autem aſſeſſoribus et collectoribus prædictis, tenore præſentium in mandatis, quod circa præmiſſa cum omni feſtinatione et diligentia faciant et exequantur informa prædicta.

In cujus, &c. teſte Almarico juſticiario apud Triſtledermot, 26° die Novem.

Per ipſum juſticiarum et concilium.

Ex rot. Turr. Berm. pat. 23 Edw. III. No. 53. A. D. 1349.

No. V. Page 380.

Rex dilectis ſibi ſuperiori et communitati villæ de Kilkennia, &c. ſalutem. Sciatis quod nos fortificationem et reparationem villæ veſtræ, veſtris exigentibus meritis, affectuoſe deſiderantes, de gratia noſtra ſpeciali conceſſimus, et licentiam dedimus vobis, in auxilium murorum, paviamenti et pontis ejuſdem villæ emendandorum et reparandorum, quod vos et poſteri veſtri per voſmet aut deputandos a vobis capere poſſitis, et habere a decimo die Decembris jam proximè futuro, uſque ad finem ſeptem annorum extunce proxime ſequentium plenarie complendorum, de rebus venalibus ad eandem villam venientibus, ſeu de eadem cauſa veniendi tranſientibus, ſive per eandem villam per unam lucam circumquaque, tam in Crocea quam in libertate ibidem venientibus, conſuetudines ſubſcriptas.

Vir de quolibet cranoco cujuſcunque generis, bladi, braſei, farinæ et ſalis venali, unum obolum. De quolibet cranoco waide venali duos denarios.

De

De quolibet cranoco de corcyr et ſynal venali, unum denarium. De quolibet cranoco tanni venali, unum quadrantem. De duodecim cranocis quorumcunque carborum venalibus, unum denarium. De duodecim cranocis calcis venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet equo, vel equa, hobino, bove vel vacca venali, unum denarium. De decem ovibus, capris vel porcis venalibus, unum denarium. De quinque venalibus baconibus unum obolum. De duodecim velleribus lanitis venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet corio equi vel equæ, hobini, bovis vel vaccæ, friſco, ſalito vel tannato venali, unum quadrantem. De qualibet centena pellium agnorum, capriolorum, leporum, vulpium, catarorum et ſquirrellorum venali, unum obolum. De qualibet centena pellium omnium lanetarum, caprarum, leporum, biſſarum, damorum vel damarum venali, unum denarium. De qualibet mola molendini venali, unum denarium. De duabus molis manualibus venalibus, unum quadrantem. De quolibet magno ſacco lanæ venali, quatuor denarios. De qualibet maſa allecis venali, unum quadrantem. De viginti groſſis piſcilnis venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet ſummagio æqui piſcium venali, unum denarium. De quolibet onere piſcium maris venali, unum quadrantem. De centum anguillis groſſis aquæ dulcis venalibus, unum denarium. De quolibet ſalmone venali, unum quadrantem. De qualibet lampreda venali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet dolio vini et cinerum venali, quatuor denarios. De quolibet ſummagio mellis venali, unum denarium. De quolibet ſummagio cinerum venali, unum denarium. De quolibet ſummagio pannorum venalium, unum obolum.

De

De quolibet panno integro de aſſiſſa venali, unum denarium. De viginti ulnis panni Hibernici, ſalewyche et wyrſtede, venalibus, unum obolum. De viginti ulnis linei teli Anglici vel tranſmarini, venalibus, unum obolum. De viginti ulnis de canenis venalibus, unum quadrantem. De decem capellis de feltro venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet tapeto vel chalon venali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet panno aureo venali, unum denarium. De quolibet panno de ſerico vel baudikino venali, unum obolum. De quolibet capite ſindonis venali, unum obolum. De quolibet fallinga Hibernica venali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet ſummagio pannorum, vel aliarum rerum venalium, unum obolum. De qualibet benda ferri venali, unum obolum. De centum gaddis aſceris venalibus, unum obolum. De centum libris de pice, vel roſino venalibus, unum obolum. De centum libris ſeminis porri venalibus, unum denarium. De duabus milliaribus ceparum venalibus, unam quadrantem. De octo chane ſalis venalibus, unum quadrantem. De centum parvis bordis venalibus unum quadrantem. De centum magnis bordis venalibus, unum denarium. De quolibet milliari ſcindularum groſſarum venali, unum denarium. De quolibet milliari ſcindularum minutarum unum obolum. De quolibet milliari clavorum venalium, unum obolum. De quolibet centena ferrorum adequos, et clutorum ad carectas venali, unum obolum. De qualibet nova ciſta, vel archavenali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet milliari diſcorum et platellorum ligneorum venali unum quadrantem. De qualibet duodena de cordwane, corneys, et baſyne venali, unum obolum. De

qualibet

qualibet centena oris et cupri venali, duos denarios. De qualibet centena de ſcalpyn et piſcis auri venali, unum denarium. De decem petris cannabi et lini venalibus, unum denarium. De decem lagenis olei lampadarum venalibus, unum obolum. De qualibet centena de vitro colorato venali, unum denarium. De qualibet centena de vitro albo venali, unum obolum. De duabus ſolidatis cujuſcunque generis ſpecierum venalibus, unum obolum. De qualibet centena de amero de pondere venali, unum denarium. De qualibet duodena panni Anglici vel tranſmarini venali, unum denarium. Et de quolibet mercimonio valoris duorum ſolidorum, unde hic non ſit mentio venali unum quadrantem.

Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod conſuetudines prædictas de rebus venalibus prædictis, in forma prædicta capiatis et habeatis, uſque ad finem termini prædicti; completo autem termino illo, conſuetudines prædictæ penitus ceſſent et deleantur. Ita ſemper, quod denarii inde provenientes circa muragium, pavagium et pontagium villæ prædictæ et non alibi, fideliter expendantur. Volumus enim quod in fine cujuslibet anni, durante termino prædicto, computus inde coram venerabili patre epiſcopo Oſſorienſi, qui pro tempore fuit et Roberto de la Ffreigne milite, vel altero eorum, et non ad ſcaccarium noſtrum Hiberniæ, de anno in annum fideliter per vos reddatur.

In cujus, &c. teſte Willielmo Tanny, Gubernatore, apud Kilkenniam, primo die Julii, anno regni 49.

Per petitionem de concilio.

Ex rot. turr. Berm. pat. 49 Edw. III. No. 125, intus.

A. D. 1375.

No.

No. VI. Page 386.

Rex, &c. omnibus ad quos, &c. ſalutem. Supplicarunt nobis ſuperior, præpoſitus et communitas villæ de Kilkennia, ut cum villa prædicta in marchiis fuerit aſſeſſa, et diverſis Hibernicis inimicis noſtris, ac aliis rebellibus, malefactoribus, felonibus et utlagatis Lageniæ, Momoniæ et Conaciæ undique circumvallata: idemque ſuperior, præpoſitus et communitas non habeant unde venire valeant ſecure omnimodo exemptione et venditione victualium, et aliarum parvarum rerum et mercandizarum ſuarum, quæ præfatis inimicis et rebellibus ad evitandum eorum malitiam neceſſario vendere et dare oportebit; et adhuc indies, vi compellantibus aut alias dicta villa foret per dictos inimicos et rebelles ſpoliata, deſtructa et omnino deſolata et relicta, quod abſit. Velimus, præmiſſis conſideratis, et quod eadem villa major extat relevamen et confortamen quorumcunque miniſtrorum, ſoldariorum et aliorum fidelium noſtrorum, per terram noſtram Hiberniæ laborantium, quod ipſi victualia et mercandizas cum dictis inimicis et rebellibus, tempore pacis et trugarum, emere, vendere et mercandizare tam infra villam prædictam quam extra in partibus vicinis, abſque impetitione noſtra hæredum ſeu miniſtrorum noſtrorum quorumcunque, licentiam gratioſe concedere.

Nos de aviſamento et aſſenſu chariſſimi filii noſtri, Thomæ de Lancaſtre ſeneſchalli Angliæ, locum noſtrum tenentis in terra noſtra Hiberniæ, ac aliorum de concilio noſtro præmiſſa advertantium,

de

de gratia noſtra ſpeciali conceſſimus et licentiam dedimus præfato ſuperiori, præpoſito et communitati, quod ipſi et eornm quilibet de cætero, uſque ad finem trium annorum ex nunc proxime ſequentium, plenarie complendorum, omnimoda hujusmodi victualia et mercandizas ſuas (equis et armaturis duntaxat exceptis) tam tempore pacis quam trugarum, diebus mercati, tam in villa prædicta quam in aliis villis Anglicis mercatoriis comitatûs Kilkenniæ, eidem vicinis, dictis inimicis et rebellibus noſtris vendere; et de eis emere et cum eis mercandizare, abſque impetitione aut occaſione noſtri, aut miniſtrorum noſtrorum quorumcunque, aliquo ſtatuto, ſive ordinatione inde in contrarium factis non obſtantibus.

Ita ſemper, quod hujuſmodi victualia et mercandizæ in foris dictarum villarum, et diebus foralibus et non alibi, emantur et vendantur.

In cujus rei, &c. teſte præfato locum noſtrum tenente, apud Trym, 20° die Feb. anno regni noſtri quarto.

Per petitionem, &c.

Ex rot. turr. Berm. pat. 4 Hen. IV. No. 128, intus. A. D. 1402.

No. VII. Page 386.

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. ſalutem. Sciatis quod nos conſiderantes grandes cuſtus, quod dilecti ligei noſtri ſuperior et communes villæ de Kilkennia habent et ſuſtinent, necnon roberias, extortiones et oppreſſiones, quæ iis per Hibernicos inimicos et Anglicos rebelles noſtros factæ exiſtunt; ac etiam

alia

alia onera impoſita, quæ dicta villa et patria circumquaque ſoldariis noſtris ibidem, que extendunt ad ducentas marcas quolibet quaterno anni in reſiſtentiam ſuperbiæ et malitiam dictorum inimicorum et rebellium de die in diem ſupportant: et quod dicta villa auxilium et confortamen comitatûs Kilkenniæ, et aliorum ligeorum noſtrorum dictæ villæ reparantium in omnibus agendis ſuis contra eoſdem Hibernicos et rebelles exiſtat: Ob quod præfati ſuperior et communes in tantum depauperati ſunt, quod non poſſint reparare vel emendare defectus murorum, pontium et pavimentorum dictæ villæ abſque relevamine noſtro; qui vero mures, pontes et paviamenta pro majori parte proſternantur, et pro defectu cuſtuum, in periculum cadendi ad terram exiſtunt.

Nos de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, de aſſenſu venerabilis in Chriſto patris Richardi archiepiſcopi Dublin, deputati, dilecti et fidelis noſtri Johannis Talbot de Holomſhire Chivaler, locum noſtrum tenentis terræ noſtræ Hiberniæ, et concilii noſtri in eadem terra, in ſalvationem dictæ villæ et patriæ circumquaque, dedimus et conceſſimus eidem ſuperiori et communibus, certas cuſtumas de quibuſcunque mercandiſis venalibus ad dictam villam venientibus, ſecundum formam et effectum literarum patentium chariſſimi domini et patris noſtri, Henrici quarti nuper regis Angliæ eis data, viceſſimi octavi Januarii, anno regni ejuſdem patris noſtri ſecundo, ut dicitur, factarum: Habendum et percipiendum cuſtumas prædictas hucuſque ad finem 21 annorum plenarie complendorum.

Volentes

Volentes insuper, quod compotus inde coram nobis et hæredibus nostris et ministris, duobus burgensibus ejusdem villæ, per superiorem et communes ejusdem villæ, pro tempore existentes, ad hoc singulis annis eligendis, et non coram nobis, seu hæredibus nostris, aut ministris quibuscunque de anno in annum fideliter reddatur. Proviso semper, quod custumæ prædictæ circa reparationem et emendationem murorum, pontium et paviamentorum prædictorum expendantur, et completo termino prædicto penitus ipse cessent et deleantur.

In cujus, &c. teste præfato deputato apud Trym, 20° die Septembris.

Per petitionem, &c.

Ex rot. turr. Berm. pat. 7 Hen. V. No. 12, intus.

A. D. 1419.

No. VIII. Page 488.

Johannes Allen armiger, cancellarius domini regis terræ suæ Hiberniæ, Georgius, miseratione divina Dublin. archiepiscopus, Hiberniæ primas, et Will. Brabason Arm. sub-thesaurarius supremi domini regis in terra sua Hybernia prædicta (et ejusdem invictissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri dom. Henrici 8vi, Dei gratia, Ang. et Franciæ regis, fidei defensoris et domini Hyberniæ, et supremi capitis ecclesiarum Anglicanarum et Hibernicarum post Deum in terris) commissarii et legati speciales et generales in ecclesiasticis causis et suæ ecclesiæ jurisdictione, per totam Hiberniam legitime constituti et deputati.

Univerſis et ſingulis Chriſti fidelibus ad quorum notitiam præſentes literæ pervenerint, et illi vel illis, quæ ſeu potius infra ſcriptum tangit, ſeu tangere potuit quomodolibet in futurum, ſalutem in domino ſempiterno, atque præſentibus fidem adhibeamus indubiam.

Cupientes finem imponi ne plus ultra modum graventur laboribus et expenſis; præſertim nunc de juribus eccleſiaſticis aut eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum ſtatu, aut etiam eccleſiaſtica juriſdictione contenditur: de quibus diutius abſque animarum et rerum periculo et jactura decertari non poteſt; ea propter in cauſa, et quæſtione aliquamdiu ventilata, inter diſcretum virum dom. Jacobum Cleere, dec. ecc. Off. et vicarios perpetuos et chorales communis aulæ collegii cathedralis eccleſiæ Sti Canici, villæ Kilkenn. et præſertim propter eorundem vicariorum de et ſuper jurisdictione decani, et ſtatu vicariorum ipſorum, auditis allegationibus juris et facti (ſaltem quibus uti valebant in hac parte) cordi ſit nobis lites minuere et a laboribus relevare ſubjectos, tam de conſenſu prædicti in Chriſto patris dom. Milonis epiſ. Oſſor. quam ſubjectorum, duximus ſtatuere et ordinare in hunc, qui ſequitur, modum, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturum.

Imprimis, quod vacante ſtallo, aliquis vicarius choralis, cujus nominatio ad aliquem de dignatoribus et præbendariis dictæ eccleſiæ cathed. de jure ſeu conſuetudine ſpectat, præſentatur decano examinandum, ſi moribus et honeſtate approbatus fuerit, ipſum commendabit præcentori, de ſua peritia in cantu, et cancellario de ſua literatura examinandum: quibus omnibus ſufficienter imbutus admittetur

mittetur per decanum, in vicarium choralem, juxta modum in antiqua fundatione, traditum. Eo ſemper ſalvo, quod perpetui vicarii communis aulæ legitimas exceptiones coram decano opponant, quas ſi viderit veriſimiles, admittet, eiſque differat, quantum de jure poterit et debebit. Et caſu quo hujusmodi exceptiones coram decano per dolum vel excogitatam maliciam opponuntur (ipſis ſpretis et negatis) nominatus et præſentatus, ſi habilis moribus, cantu et literatura, ut præmittitur, expertus fuerit, nihilominus admittatur.

Item, quod decanus, epiſcopus vel archiepiſcopus juxta formam prænominatam, culpis, delectis, criminibus prænominatorum vicariorum expoſcentibus, ipſos aut ipſorum quemlibet, (trina monitione prævia) removere valeant, aut ipſos, aut ipſorum quemlibet cenſura eccleſ. compeſcere, ſi maluerint, ut in antiqua fundatione.

Item, quilibet vicariorum debet ſervire choro, et ſe non abſentare abſque licentia decani, ſeu ejus vicarii, ſine rationabili cauſa; et debet modum et formam legendi quotidie in menſam, bibliam, aut alias ſacras literas ſervare, ut conſuetudo inolevit in ipſo collegio.

Item, quod dicti vicarii chorales in aula foveant hoſpitalitatem quotidie: et in menſam aut ſilentium teneant, aut finita lectione, laudabile et honeſtum colloquium habeant. Et ſimili modo ſilentium teneant, aut contemplationi vacant in dormitorio, ab hora octava in nocte uſque horam quintam in mane. Et quilibet eorum dormire debet in dicto dormitorio, niſi ex rationabili cauſa de licentia decani ſeu ejus vicarii habuerit alibi dormiendi, ſi

fuerit prope dictum collegium, per ſtatium unius milliaris.

Item, quod dictorum vicariorum quilibet, excepto decani vicario, debet gerere omnia officia dictæ domus ſucceſſive; ita tamen quod uno eodemque tempore non ſit niſi unus officiarius omnium et ſingulorum officiorum, et iſte non inducat vel conducat ſervum, ancillam vel mulierem, ſine licentia vicarii decani et ejus confratrum.

Item, quod eorum aliquis ſit perſonaliter parochialis ut inolevit.

Item, quod iſte procurator ſive officiarius domus eligatur de communi conſenſu et aſſenſu ipſorum vicariorum, et quod ſit unus illorum vicariorum prædictæ communis aulæ, et quod quolibet anno ab illis vicariis eligatur, et ob negligentiam ipſorum, poteſtas ipſum eligendi devolvatur ad decanum, cum aſſiſtentia ſaltem ſeniorum de capitulo.

Item, quod nullus eligatur niſi unus vicariorum prædicto officio, et quod iſte procurator ſive officiarius teneatur reddere rationem ſeu computum ipſis vicariis ſingulis hebdomadis, et decano bis in anno.

Item, quod ſi aliquis dictorum vicariorum in ſuo miniſterio ſeu divino officio ad quod, de fundatione tenetur, negligens et culpabilis repertus fuerit, pro parva offenſa mulctatur in quatuor denariis, et ſi tunc monitus ſecundo deliquerit in 8 denariis, et tertio monitus ſi denuo deliquerit in 12 denariis: medietatem mulctorum hujuſmodi ad uſus decani, et aliam medietatem in communem utilitatem dicti collegii converti volumus.

Item, ordinamus, quod fundatio et alia ſcripta et munimenta dicti collegii conſervanda una cum eorundem

eorundem ſigillo communi, ponentur et cuſtodientur ſalva et ſecura, infra dictum collegium dictæ ecc. cathed. in una ciſta ſive ſcrinio ſub tribus ſeris, et una clavis ejuſdem ciſtæ vel ſcrinii remaneat ſub cuſtodia decani vicarii, alia in cuſtodia vicarii præcentoris, et tertia in cuſtodia vicarii cancellarii dictæ ecc. et dicta ciſta ſive ſcrinium nunquam aperietur niſi de conſenſu et aſſenſu dictorum vicariorum et partis majoris cæterorum vicariorum. Et quod nulla pars redituum concedatur alicui perſonæ ultra quinque annos, niſi ad hoc acceſſerit aſſenſus decani.

Et interea præmiſſis non obſtantibus, ex certis rationabilibus cauſis nos moventibus, et præſertim pro utilitate dicti collegii, volumus quod Nicholaus Brytton dictæ ecc. theſaur. pro termino trium annorum ſequentium erit tanquam procurator et ſuperviſor et proviſor dicti collegii, ita quod reddit computum dictis vicariis de ſua adminiſtratione ſemel qualibet ſeptimana, et decano bis in anno, ut ſupra dictum eſt.

Ordinamus inſuper, quod fructus, redditus et proventus ecc. de Kilkeſy remaneant ſingulis annis ad theſaurarium dicti collegii, et reparationes ædificiorum ejuſdem, aliaque communia onera pro utilitate collegii ſupportanda de ærario in ciſta ſeu ſcrinio prædicto; ita quod nulla pars pecuniæ exinde proveniens diſtribuatur, niſi de conſenſu decani vicarii, et majoris partis vicariorum ejuſdem collegii pro tempore exiſtentium.

In quorum omnium et ſingulorum præmiſſorum fidem et teſtimonium ſigillum quo utimur ad cauſas ecc. præſentibus duximus apponendum. Datum Kilkenniæ 8° die Aprilis dicti dom. regis triceſſimo primo. A. D. 1540.

No.

No. IX. Page 535.

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. ſalutem. Supplicarunt nobis dilecti nobis prior et conventus fratrum prædicatorum Kilkenniæ, ut cum ipſi continuo ſint oratores pro ſtatu noſtro, et pro animabus nobilium progenitorum noſtrorum, quondam regum Angliæ, &c. Et ſeipſos non poſſunt ſuſtinere ex eleemoſynis villæ Kilkenniæ, neque comitatus Kilkenniæ, eo quod dictus comitatus eſt tam per rebelles noſtros quam Hibernicos inimicos deſtructus et devaſtatus.

Volumus, præmiſſiis conſideratis, eo prætextu cum eis agere gratioſe, nos ſupplicationi ſuæ prædictæ annuentes, de aſſenſu venerabilis in Chriſto patris, Ricardi archiepiſcopi Dublin. juſticiarii noſtri terræ noſtræ Hiberniæ, et conſilii noſtri in eadem terra noſtra per manucaptionem Johannis Nauyler de Trym et Thomæ Clopham de Navane, conceſſimus iiſdem priori et conventui, duas partes, omnium decimarum, oblationum, commoditatum, et proficuorum quorumcunque rectoriæ eccleſiæ de Mothil in comitatu prædicto, in manibus noſtris, certis de cauſis, exiſtentes. Habendum et tenendum dictas duas partes, quandiu in manibus noſtris prædictis contigerint remanere. Reddendo inde per annum ad ſcaccarium noſtrum Hiberniæ octo denarios ad feſta Sti. Michaelis et Paſchæ per æquales portiones.

In cujus, &c. teſte præfato juſticiario noſtro apud Dublin 25° die Julii.

Ex turr. Berm. pat. 15 Hen. VI. No. 11. intus.
A. D. 1437.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Speedily will be Publiſhed,

Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis.

NUMBER X.

CONTAINING,

THE

ANTIENT TOPOGRAPHY

OF

IRELAND.

WITH A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A MAP OF ANTIENT IRELAND.

By WILLIAM BEAUFORD, A.M.
SOCIET. ANTIQ. HIB. SOC.